

LABOUR MONTHLY

A Magazine of Labour Unity

Founded 1921

Editor : R. Palme Dutt

- | | | |
|--|---|--------------------|
| War or Peace in 1955 ? | ★ | R. Page Arnot |
| British Political Situation | ★ | John Gollan |
| Europe at the Crossroads | ★ | Quæstor |
| Nehru and Indian
Communism | ★ | Ajoy Ghosh |
| The Commonweal | ★ | William Morris |
| Depression, Slide
or Recession in America | ★ | Sancho Panza |
| Friends in Telengana | ★ | D. N. Pritt, Q.C. |
| The Spirit of Liberty | ★ | Reginald Bridgeman |

February, 1955

One shilling and sixpence

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



FALLEN TIMBER



SINCE I wrote last month about the high mortality amongst serious periodicals, yet another has gone up the spout. This called forth a leader in *The Times* observing that: 'The disappearances are much to be regretted—not least because they curtail the variety of opinion and expression, as well as narrowing the elbow-room for writers.' Now, the latest fatality is no mushroom growth. When it began, the First International was only two years old, and the Prussian army had just begun making war in Europe. In Britain, parliamentary elections were still carried on by show of hands at the open hustings; compulsory universal education was yet to come. The late lamented journal was over 25 years old when the new-fangled *Strand Magazine* (itself a recent casualty) was building phenomenal sales amongst those who awaited breathlessly the next adventure of Sherlock Holmes and faithful Dr. Watson, dashing along Baker Street at madcap speed in a hansom cab. Thus it was one of the oldest political periodicals for which the leader-writer went into mourning when the passing of the *Fortnightly* was announced. Yet, *The Times* says: '*We can hardly be surprised that a small independent monthly of a complexion mainly political has found it impossible to survive without going into partnership with a competitor.*' While the oldest timber in the once thick forest of bourgeois political commentaries falls right and left, selling out to competitors of the same

hue, fusing with hacks from the same stables, or succumbing to American dollars, yet our LABOUR MONTHLY stands firm. Why? We do not rely on what *The Times* regards as essential for survival today, 'substantial backing in the form of a publishing house, a national newspaper or an international organisation.' Unsubsidised, we continue to rely on readers' support. And what support! what readers!

Why such strong support? How is it expressed? In the quick response when an occasion for joy or anger makes a man or woman want to strike out harder. Thus, here's an angry *railway guard*, up in arms at the sneers of the press columnist, sending 5s. 'to help our L.M. to put people like that in their place, to tell them where to get off. I've been a regular reader since 1949, and I'm in incalculable debt to Palme Dutt for what he has taught me about the political facts of life. Up the railwaymen!' Here's a *Scottish railwayman's wife* (up the railwaymen's wives!) on New Year's Eve sending 5s. collected from a neighbour and 5s. 'for my children, towards my promise for 1955, so that I don't get too far behind in your debt. Not that one isn't always in debt to L.M.' Support is expressed in practical efforts to win new readers; by the *Yorkshire Lodge Chairman*, who always takes eight copies down the pit with him; by those who ask us to send the Midget L.M. or specimen copies to friends and workmates. Often they ask us to enclose letters, like this

(Continued on page iii of cover)

	Page
NOTES OF THE MONTH: War or Peace in 1955? by R. Page Arnot ..	49
BRITISH POLITICAL SITUATION, by John Gollan	54
EUROPE AT THE CROSSROADS, by Quæstor	59
NEHRU AND INDIAN COMMUNISM, by Ajoy Ghosh	68
THE COMMONWEAL, by William Morris	76
DEPRESSION, SLIDE OR RECESSION IN AMERICA, by Sancho Panza ..	79
FRIENDS IN TELENGANA, by D. N. Pritt, Q.C.	86
THE SPIRIT OF LIBERTY, by Reginald Bridgeman	87
TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO	85
REARMING WEST GERMANY: Cartoons by Gabriel	72-73

Book Reviews :

Democracy and the Labour Movement, edited by J. Saville: <i>W. Gallacher</i>	91
A Thousand Lives, by Iris Morley: <i>V. G. Kiernan</i>	92
The Man Who Never Died, by Barrie Stavis: <i>G. Hardy</i>	93
Africa, Africa! by Derek Kartun: <i>R. Millner</i>	94
Science and our Future, by Roy Innes: <i>T.A.</i>	95
Man and the Vertebrates, by A. S. Romer: <i>D.R.N.</i>	96

Notes of the Month

War or Peace in 1955?

R. PAGE ARNOT*

THE campaign against the re-armament of West Germany is mounting in Britain and the other countries most affected. It is reaching new heights in West Germany itself where the six million organised workers who through their trades union congress last year declared their firm opposition are meeting this month to work out their campaign against the ratification of the Paris treaties. These treaties, passed by a minority of members of parliament in Britain and France and in the teeth of opposition from the peoples, are to impose re-armament and Nazi generals, on an unwilling and

*The editor will resume the Notes of the Month in the next issue.

resistant working class in West Germany. Before this happens, the people of this country, of France, and of all the other countries (whose pressure forced the majority in parliament to oppose or abstain) can by their resolute determination prevent the final ratification. It was the attitude of the peoples which spoiled the United States plan for war of intervention in South East Asia last summer. Now that the imperialists have refashioned their war plans, the situation and therefore the outlook for war or peace in 1955, has worsened. Still greater efforts are now needed to prevent these plans being carried through.

A Rising Spirit

That in Britain there is a growing spirit of resistance, has been shown in another sphere by the demonstration of the railwaymen last month not to put up any longer with the wages paid to them in their state-owned service. It was shown by the dockers last October in their resistance to more intense exploitation through longer hours of labour and against compulsory overtime. The same lively resistance has been shown in the agitations against higher rents under the Tory Rents Act of 1954, against the treatment of old age pensioners and against the mounting high prices. But neither railwaymen in their determination to strike nor the dockers in their refusal to work under conditions of compulsory overtime had the backing of the right-wing leaders of the Labour Party. On the contrary. Just as the official spokesman of the Labour Party when parliament was sitting declared himself in agreement with the Tory Minister in his attitude to the dockers, so too on the question of German re-armament the right-wing Labour leaders are in agreement with Churchill and Eden. The right-wing leaders of the Labour Party want to impose re-armament and the Nazi generals upon the German working class. It is this situation of right-wing leaders tied to Tory policies that places before the British working class the problem with which John Gollan deals in this issue.

The Voice from the Past

Seventy years ago this month there was issued the first number of *The Commonweal*, edited by William Morris. His introductory article (re-printed on a later page) and the description of the other contents recall that period of the eighties when, (to quote his last article in the journal) 'Socialism came to life again in this country'. What a contrast with some present-day leaders! Small wonder that

Mr. Herbert Morrison apprehensively warned an audience not to hark back to the pioneers. Their utterances must indeed be embarrassing to one who has given the novel definition of socialism as 'social responsibility for matters of social concern', and who declared that, since he became a leader in the Labour cabinet, the word 'imperialism' could no longer be applied to the British Empire. The contrast, however, goes deeper than either the words or policies of the present-day leaders. It showed itself increasingly throughout this century. Incidentally it may be noted that in that February, 1885, Engels, Liebknecht (then leader with Bebel of the German working class) and the family of Marx, (his daughter Eleanor and her husband, and his other son-in-law Paul Lafargue) were at its outset supporting the Socialist League headed by William Morris against the unprincipled policies of Hyndman as well as against the Fabian Society—whose original founder, the 97-year-old Edward R. Pease died early this year. Thus, covered within the span of a single lifetime, the contrast has been developing until today the title of 'Socialist' is claimed by right-wing leaders who support a Tory foreign policy and the capitalist plans for war upon the countries of socialism and peace. In his valedictory message of December, 1890, it is not surprising that Morris, criticising the followers of Hyndman and the Fabians, should have written 'My readers will understand that in saying this I am speaking for those who are complete Socialists—or let us call them Communists'. A prophetic suggestion, to be realised nearly thirty years later and in a vast country where, led by 'complete Socialists' the workers and peasants had thrown off the yoke of landlordism and capitalism.

The Grand Design

To reimpose that yoke, shaken off in 1917, was immediately the design of every ruling class in Europe. A war of intervention of 14 powers against the Soviet Socialist Republics, continuing for over four years, was unsuccessful. The design remained unfulfilled but was never abandoned. The fascist Goebbels in 1945, before he killed himself at the end of Hitler's attempt, bequeathed to others (with his venomous phrase 'the iron curtain') the continuance of that design. Heralded by Churchill (at Fulton, Missouri and earlier) it was not long before the monopoly capitalists, headed by the United States, accepted the bequest. By March, 1947, the U.S. President had proclaimed the Truman Doctrine of intervention in the affairs of any country whose people were guilty of 'communism'.

World Domination

It was a doctrine which well suited, and masked the unproclaimed aim of world domination for Wall Street. For the word 'communist' was soon to be applied to any government with even Liberal tendencies or that endangered the profits of the giant trusts. Hence in these last nine months the armed destruction by Yankee agents of the Liberal government in Guatemala and the attempt last month on the Liberal régime in Costa Rica by the petty dictators whom Washington favours in Central America—and elsewhere! Hence since last summer the stuffing of United States troops and military missions into Thailand and other parts of South-East Asia—not that they are 'communist' but because of their proximity to the People's Republic of Vietnam.

The Grand Design Expanded

But three years before the Republican President Eisenhower had succeeded to Truman, the whole world situation had changed with the victory of the Chinese Revolution over the U.S. puppet Chiang Kai-shek. So the original grand design of nearly two-score years was now to be expanded. Not only the 200 million of the U.S.S.R. and 100 million of the people's democracies but also the 600 million of the Chinese People's Republic where landlordism has been abolished and capitalism subjugated were to be 'contained' and, at a suitable moment 'liberated'. Hence the contriving, beyond the original N.A.T.O., of S.E.A.T.O. last autumn and as a link between them, the Turkey-Pakistan pact (with Iraq-Turkey military alliance announced on January 12): in all of which successive British Governments have proved willing accomplices. Hence too the U.S. troops on English soil, the £1,600,000,000 annual arms expenditure originally demanded of Britain by the U.S.A. in 1950, hence the heavy taxation and rising prices to cover this cost, hence the continuance of two-year conscription. Hence the concentrated drive of the U.S. politicians, as of their British and French subordinates, to force through the creation of a Nazi-officered army of half a million in West Germany.

Gains by the Way

Meanwhile the various allies of the United States war-mongers have suffered much more from the prosecution of the cold war than the countries whose people stand for peace, democracy and socialism. The prohibition of East-West trade or its restriction by a list

of hundreds of items hits British exporters much harder (as would be still more evident once there came a slackening in the general export total) than the countries willing to import British goods. The blockade of a quarter of mankind in China has not cut down Chinese trade which is higher than ever before. It has merely altered its destination so that China now trades mainly with other peoples' democracies and with the Soviet Union. It is the British manufacturers and exporters who have been damaged. When the National Coal Board imports coal from the U.S.A., the stipulation is made that half this coal must be carried in U.S. ships. Just as the United Kingdom Chamber of Shipping a year ago had to complain about their ships being harried and shadowed by patrol boats in U.S. coastal waters, so the British shipping interests last month complained about this discrimination, loss of freights, and idle ships, with its future repercussion on Britain's shipbuilding centres, where there are already empty berths. And at the Diamond Jubilee of the Navy League (the diamonds have lost their lustre) Mr. J. C. Denholm, president of the Chamber of Shipping of the U.K., said frankly:

Because of some mumbo-jumbo about currency what has until now been a normal commercial transaction has, somehow or other, been brought within the terms of Mutual Security Aid. Any cargoes moving under these aid arrangements automatically entail the application of the 'fifty-fifty' rule.

(The Times, January 18, 1955.)

Australia and New Zealand, already bound to the U.S.A. by the Anzus military pact (from which the United Kingdom is expressly excluded, with unavailing protests from Her Britannic Majesty's Government) complain in mid-January that Uncle Sam is going to ditch their dairy products trade by dumping ten million pounds of old butter on the world market. And so throughout a whole range of countries and commodities the spectacle is the same. Whoever loses by all these treaties, it is not the monopolists of the United States. In the course of the cold war, Wall Street keeps on picking up gains by the way—at the expense of her allies. The sooner this bad business is ended, the better. But, for the moment, in the forefront of her plans stands the re-arming of Germany. To prevent this is the most urgent question before the British people.

January 16, 1955

BRITISH POLITICAL SITUATION

JOHN GOLLAN

THE political situation in Britain is increasingly dominated by the approaching General Election. It will take place at a time when the most acute problems confront Britain and the world. Yet never were the differences dividing the Front Bench leaders of the Labour Party and the Tory Party so few and so trivial. Indeed the cynical political leader writers of the ruling class are asking what is the election to be about. On October 19 last year, *The Times* wrote that the leaderships of the two parties were 'manoeuvring for positions which will be electorally favourable in circumstances in which neither can manoeuvre very freely'. It said:

The Government's best asset is their record. They can barely do better than go on as they have been doing. . . . The Labour opposition, on the other hand, is committed . . . to policies which, except in detail, do not effectively differ from those of the Government.

'Politics is an uncertain business' it added cautiously and concluded:

It is yet possible that some major issue will divide the Parties in a way which presents the electors with a significant choice.

A few weeks later, the West Derby by-election took place. It was the 40th by-election since the Tories came to power. In the previous 39 there had been no change, except in Sunderland which the Tories won from Labour, mainly on the basis of Churchill's peace speech. West Derby was a marginal seat. If Labour could have won anywhere, it ought to have won there. In fact, of course, the Tories held West Derby with an increased majority.

An extremely disappointing result, commented Morgan Phillips, Secretary of the Labour Party. But he didn't dare give the reason for this result, namely the policy of the right-wing leaders. The election was fought on the official policy and critics of that policy, particularly those opposing German rearmament, were kept out of the campaign. The candidate, however, plaintively complained that he had been beaten by two things: 'The natural fog and the political fog'. A fighting policy would have penetrated the deepest natural fog but the mass of the electors could see little difference between the official policies of both candidates. A sense of duty brought only the hard core of Labour supporters to the polls. Since then there has been the Inverness by-election where Labour's proportion of the total poll fell from 35 per cent. to 22 per cent. for the same

reason. Indeed a Gallup Poll held early in December showed that 39 per cent. of the electors did not think there was any real important differences between the Parties and that they were much of a muchness.

The *Daily Herald*, Labour's official organ, in an attempt to reply to this criticism, is desperately reduced to trying to find some outstanding differences in the official policies. In an editorial on December 7, boldly entitled 'Basic Differences', it pointed out that the Tory Government was reversing the trends of social justice established by the Labour Government and it concluded: 'It will take a Labour Government to change the present backward direction.' In other words it could find no basic difference in policy.

Morgan Phillips, in the January issue of *Fact* stresses two needs for victory in the General Election, if it comes this year: first, a good programme and second, a strong and active membership. But all he had to offer as a good programme was *Challenge to Britain*, the official right-wing policy with which the recent by-elections have been fought and lost. The speaker at the Margate Labour Party Conference who said that if Labour fights the General Election on this programme, it fights with one hand tied behind its back, has been proved more than correct.

Yet never were problems confronting the country so acute, with the electorate in fact divided on policy issues to a greater degree than for years past. The British people and the Labour movement are increasingly alarmed at the menace of German rearmament and the growing danger of war which it involves. On this issue, vital for peace or war, the people are overwhelmingly in opposition, but the Government and the official opposition leaders support German rearmament. The British people want hydrogen and atomic weapons outlawed but the Government, with the support of the official opposition leaders, are preparing for hydrogen warfare. Wages and general working conditions lag, while profits, dividends and share values have reached fantastic heights. Trade unionists are accordingly fighting on an ever-extending scale to improve conditions. The magnificent action of the railwaymen has given a lead and in fact there were more days of strike action in 1954 than in any year since 1945.

But both the Government and the official opposition leaders are opposing the union demands. The position is similar on the rising rent struggles and the campaign of the Old Age Pensioners. Indeed,

when for propaganda purposes, the Labour leaders try to stage a fight against the Government in parliament, they are usually effectively silenced by the Tories reminding them that Churchill's Government in point of fact is only carrying on where Labour left off.

The outstanding characteristic of the political situation, therefore, is that an unrepresentative Tory-dominated parliament based on a minority of votes is defying the majority of the British people on an ever-increasing number of vital political and social issues. This is seen most clearly on German rearmament. Here only 40 per cent. of the M.P.'s voted for German rearmament, yet this entirely unrepresentative and minority decision is used to defy the clearly expressed will of the people.

This situation is only possible because of another essential feature in the political situation, namely the complicity in Government policy of the right-wing Labour leaders. But what is the position here? In essence it is, just as the Tory-dominated parliament defies the will of the majority of the British people, the right-wing dominated parliamentary Labour Party is defying the will of the majority of the British labour and trade union movement. The contrast between the decisions, above all on German rearmament, of the overwhelming majority of the labour, trade union and co-operative conferences and the official leadership of the Labour Party has never been greater. And, as Harry Pollitt noted in the last issue of *Labour Monthly*: 'The parliamentary Labour Party in the last analysis is the body that takes the decisions in parliament and appears as the Labour Party in British politics.'

The main attack of the Labour Party leadership has been against the left progressive forces and in particular those Labour M.P.'s fighting inside the Parliamentary Party for a progressive alternative policy. Thus the scandal of the expulsion from the Parliamentary Party of the Labour M.P.'s who voted against rearmament and the threats against those opposing. Thus the utilisation of Party political broadcasts not to attack the Tories but the militant left. The Tories, of course, are reaping the utmost political benefit from this situation.

The very ferocity of these attacks shows the panic of the leadership and their craven fear of the left, the rank and file and the progressive forces in the working class movement. They fear the democratic procedures and processes inside the labour movement. The other side of right-wing policy, therefore, is the systematic effort to disrupt

any possibility of unity of the working class and to hinder and undermine democracy in the Labour Party.

All this is approved by the Tory enemy whose political party is an unconcealed dictatorship. How far this process of undermining democracy has gone can be seen in the comment in *The Times* which wrote on October 23, 1954, that despite the differences in structure between the Tory Party and the Labour Party 'they are astonishingly alike in the degree of freedom from extra-parliamentary interference they accord to the parliamentary leaders. This is what really matters'. The latest study by R. T. McKenzie of the London School of Economics on the British party system likewise declares:

The Labour Party has accepted a principle of leadership which is in no fundamental respect different from that which operates in the older parties.

(*British Political Parties*, p. 383.)

In fact, the basic organisations of the labour movement are increasingly in revolt against such 'principles' of leadership. This position is a challenge to every member of the labour movement.

What then is the essence of the task confronting us all if the prevention of German rearmament, the preservation of peace, the advancement of wages and conditions are to be achieved and the conditions developed where the Tories can be defeated in the coming General Election?

The British parliament must be made to conform to the will of the people. The parliamentary Labour Party must be made to conform to the will of the decisive majority of the labour movement. If democracy means anything at all, it means precisely this. And how it can be done was excellently explained in Harry Pollitt's important article *How Labour Can Win*. The main points can be summarised: To carry forward the rising fighting spirit of the labour movement in a great campaign by the left leaders, the constituency Labour Parties and the trade union movement, for the defeat of German rearmament and immediate negotiations. Above all, the aim of the campaign must be the greatest possible pressure to force a new discussion in Parliament on this vital issue.

The first step in the pressure on parliament was the great national lobby against German rearmament on January 25, initiated by the British Peace Committee. This type of action must in fact become a continuous process if victory is to be won.

Alongside this he advanced the demand for a special recall conference of the Labour Party to reverse the policy of support for Toryism and German rearmament. Already this demand has won

important support in sections of the labour movement all over the country. On the industrial front the trade unionists should press forward with all the strength, unity and power they possess in the fight for wage increases. There can be little doubt that the railway-men's success will give a big impetus here.

But Harry Pollitt also made the call to remove all bans and proscriptions on Labour Party members working alongside members of the Communist Party in support of agreed aims. This indeed is vital. The extraordinary membership rallies of the Communist Party held during December and January have contributed something new in the political situation. They have brought together some of the most outstanding working class fighters and have resulted in a powerful stimulus to the mass movement. They have shown the leading part which the Communist Party is playing in the struggle for peace, in the wages fight and in the effort to create unity to defeat the Tories.

These are the means whereby the struggle can be lifted to a new stage, as the result of which the forces for victory over the Tories in the coming General Election can be mobilised. A powerful campaign on these lines, popularising the real alternative policy to that of Toryism would really disperse the political fog of which the West Derby Labour candidate spoke. An important step in this process is the general election programme of the Communist Party published this month entitled *A Policy for Britain*. Here indeed is a programme, not only for the Communist candidates whose election to parliament alongside their Labour colleagues, is vital if parliament is really to represent the will of the people, but a programme which we are confident will correspond with the real needs and desires of the majority of the labour and trade union movement.

LABOUR MONTHLY SUBSCRIPTION RATES: *United Kingdom, 12 months, 18s. post free; \$3.00 in U.S.A. and Canada (\$3.50 if first class mail); elsewhere overseas, 19s. post free.*

LABOUR MONTHLY BY AIRMAIL: *To non-European countries (including Hongkong) except as below, post free: Single copy 4s. 6d.; a year's subscription 54s.*

To China (except Hongkong), Australia, New Zealand, Japan and the Philippines, post free: Single copy 5s.; a year's subscription 60s. To Aden, Algeria, Egypt, Iran, Iraq and Syria, post free, 4s. per copy; a year's subscription 48s.

EUROPE AT THE CROSSROADS

QUÆSTOR

AT the end of a year in which, as Soviet President Voroshilov noted in his New Year's Eve broadcast, 'the struggle for a firm and lasting peace has yielded fruit', in the shape of 'a certain relaxation of international tension', world affairs have taken a turn for the worse, thanks to the London and Paris agreements for the rearmament of Western Germany (which means, in practice, the rearmament of the revengeful German militarists, backed by reconstituted German Big Business).

Is this too black a picture? Listen to the Pope in his Christmas message which was only issued on January 3. 'Recent accords which, as is believed, have opened the way to a cold peace no longer have for a basis the ideal of a more extensive European unification.' *The Times* Rome correspondent transmitting this message (January 4) said plainly that the Pope was referring to 'the new European political and military arrangements embodied in the Paris agreements'. The Pope analysed this 'decreased tension which, not without some irony, has been given the name cold peace'. What is its meaning, he asked, 'if not the mere co-existence of various peoples, based on fear of each other and mutual disillusionment'? And he underlined its 'hollow void and uncertain duration', its 'provisional calm whose duration is conditional upon the changeable sensation of fear and upon the varying calculation of present strength'.

This was a clear warning that to give up the idea of peaceful co-existence and co-operation between nations with different systems of society, in favour of a return to the policy of armed camps in Europe—the favourite pre-1914 and pre-1939 policy of the 'balance of power'—would be a step towards a new world war. The Pope underlined this by a pointed reference to the experience of the nineteenth century 'nationalist state'—including the 'enormous mass of lives sacrificed and goods extorted'.

Only extreme urgency could have produced these warnings from the head of world Roman Catholicism—who in other parts of his broadcast showed his continuing condemnation of Socialism and opposition to the Socialist states. Moreover, unimpeachable confirmation accompanied his warnings—from the very mouthpieces of the 'cold peace'.

The Times leader-writer, on New Year's Day, sneeringly dismissed the idea of 'one world' as having 'vanished long ago'. With imbecile glee he announced that 'there is slowly but surely hardening the two worlds pattern called co-existence' (which, in the Tory jargon, means something different from the 'Communist slogan' of *peaceful co-existence and co-operation*, and is precisely what the Pope described as 'mere co-existence . . . based on fear' and 'cold peace'). Following the vote for German rearmament in the French Assembly, said the leader-writer, 'there is now *at last* the prospect of the final precipitation of Germany and Europe into two camps' (my italics). Of course there followed the usual patter about 'striving to convince the Communist world', offering a security pact, making an 'effort' to reach agreement on atomic weapons—but in extremely unconvincing tones, all the more because he followed the familiar Foreign Office line that all this must happen *after* German rearmament has been finally ratified. So unconvincing was the patter, in fact, that the West German press took alarm at the open admission that the Paris treaties mean the end of any hope of Four Power talks about German reunification—as the Soviet Government has declared on numerous occasions; and *The Times* on January 4 was trying in obvious embarrassment to explain away its frank 'at last' of three days before.

Yet it could have spared itself the trouble. The previous day the *Manchester Guardian*—the political 'Voice of America' amid Britain's press—had proclaimed in its editorial that 'no major agreement with Russia is likely', and had sneered at the 'Communist line' of peaceful co-existence as 'sham protestations'. And on the same day it had published the report of the Kersten Committee of the U.S. Congress, denouncing peaceful co-existence and demanding an international agreement to break off diplomatic and trade relations with Communist governments. With the Democrats and the Republicans competing with each other in provocative belligerency (not my word, but that of the *Manchester Guardian* heading—'Denunciation of Co-existence: Belligerent U.S. Report'), it will be touch and go if the Kersten Report is not adopted.

What has provoked this sudden outburst of frankness among the champions of the 'balance of power'—and this urgent appeal of the Pope to realise the disastrous prospect ahead, if the Paris treaties are ratified? Consider the consequences of such ratification.

First, it would be the immediate signal for the beginning of West German rearmament. Forgetful of their previous reports of

the great stores of American munitions destined for Germany, piled up at Atlantic ports or in dumps on the continent, the newspapers have lately been trying out soothing stories that it will take a long time, that there won't be a call up until 1957, etc. But the reality is that Adenauer has plans to form as rapidly as possible a volunteer army out of the many hundreds of thousands of convinced Nazi cut-throats who still survive (particularly officers and N.C.O.'s of Hitler's Wehrmacht) as a 'cadre' or skeleton force around which the conscripts can be embodied later. And for these the American stores already available are ample.

From the day that the establishment of West German armed forces began—the final attribute and essential feature of the state, hitherto lacking to the big business monopolists who control the West German government—the emancipation of West German imperialism from the control by American and British imperialism would also begin. For once the monopoly capitalists of any country are finally constituted as a state, they have the means at their disposal of promoting their own separate national interests—and all history has shown again and again that those interests are antagonistic to all others, while the aggressive record of German imperialism leads any rational person to the conclusion that, once given its head even a little, it would begin preparing for a war of revenge.

Of course at first—just as in the days of the 'Weimar' Republic (from 1919 to 1933)—it would be all humbleness, all servility, all gratitude, affection and loyalty to democracy and the 'free world', *i.e.*, to the Americans, even to the British. It would rage and roar against the 'East': and at this stage there would be a real danger that the murderous banditti who so recently wore Hitler's swastika, and were schooled by his gangster generals in military adventure, would try and earn rewards from Wall Street and the City by raids on the German Democratic Republic, on Czechoslovakia or (through Austria) on Hungary which might precipitate a third World War. We have had a foretaste of the policy, in the New Year's Day statement by Dr. Gerstenmaier, president of the West German Assembly, to the effect that, directly ratification is over, the West should begin 'the struggle with Russia' for a Great Power conference 'to solve the problem of German unity'—which is a polite way of saying 'for the re-conquest of East Germany'.

In preparation for such a war, of course, the West German working class would have first of all to be deprived of such demo-

cratic rights as it has secured once again since the overthrow of Hitler. Even the most convinced Social Democrats know the price the German people would have to pay for remilitarisation. The reconstitution of the first great Ruhr trust, the Mannesmann coal and steel combine, controlling 8 per cent. of West Germany's raw steel output, 32 per cent. of her output of steel tubes, and all the coal it needs for these purposes, was announced on December 28: another steel trust, that of the Thyssen family, is also under way, with a yearly capacity of 20-25 per cent. of the total West German output. These are the type of trusts which financed and equipped German militarism under the Kaiser and under Hitler. Is it surprising that Otto Breuner, chairman of the Metal Workers' Union of West Germany, should have opposed rearmament because, 'on the basis of all our past experience in Germany, we fear that a new army could become a state within a state, bringing with it militarism of a reactionary nature'?

So far, the consequences of ratification would present no terrors for Churchill or Eden. Their whole policy has been one of reconstituting and letting loose German imperialism because that is what is involved in the 'balance of power'—Europe split up into antagonistic units, which can be played off against each other by a practised Foreign Office (rather than united in a single European Army, inevitably dominated by Germany with American backing). Of course one vital implication of such a system would be that West Germany should be the military spearhead in a war with the Soviet Union if Western differences became too acute. This is an old Foreign Office ambition, first embodied in a rudimentary way in the Armistice terms of November 11, 1918, then in the Locarno Pact of 1925, and later in the foreign policy of Stanley Baldwin and Neville Chamberlain. But experience has shown again and again that letting loose German aggressive imperialism is a two-edged weapon: German imperialists have shown twice before, in 1914 and in 1940, that their own view of what suits them does not necessarily coincide with the views of Downing Street and the City of London—once they are back to full strength again. In 1914, they were only prevented from overrunning all France by the Russians' self-sacrificing invasion of East Prussia: in 1940, without that obstacle, they did it easily: next time, atomic and hydrogen war-heads may be on the V1's and V2's. . . .

Nor would the terrible consequences of rearming German militarism stop there—and here the British working class movement must

face the true picture, which the Tory and Labour Party leaders alike are trying to hide from it. In the event of the German 'one-way gun' going off westward once again instead of eastward, the Soviet Union would not be obliged to do anything to restrain it: since the Anglo-Soviet Treaty of 1942 (like the Soviet-French Treaty of 1944) would have become null and void by the very act of rearming Germany, and would have ceased to exist. The Tories—and the Labour Party leaders too—affect to make light of the consequences of the ending of the Treaty, and even to disbelieve that it would follow the entry into force of the Paris treaties. But on this the Soviet Note to Britain of December 20 is quite specific. It says that in such a situation 'the Anglo-Soviet Treaty not only ceases to serve the interests of peace but, on the contrary, becomes nothing but a screen serving to cover up the present policy of the government of Great Britain, which has entered into aggressive military groupings headed by the United States'; and that the Soviet Government would have to take the necessary steps formally to annul it.

As for the pretence that the absence of a treaty between Britain and the U.S.S.R. would make no difference, the unspoken implication behind it is as obvious as it was in the years 1935-39 that there is going to be a German-Soviet war anyway: but this implication, or gamble, or perfidious calculation has already broken down twice in the last 35 years, and can break down again. And then it would be too late too say, as was said (by Lloyd George) in the House of Commons on June 11, 1942, that if an Anglo-Soviet Treaty had been in existence 'this war could never have occurred'. Even if the Nazi-like pronouncements of Adenauer and his Ministers during the last five years about Germany's claims had been forgotten, the wife of the Counsellor at the German Embassy in London has recently given Britain a useful reminder. Mme. Daisy Schlitter is reported to have made her first career as a beautiful actress: and some may recall the beautiful actress who was told by Bernard Shaw that the son she offered him 'might have my beauty and your brains'. But that makes it all the more probable that, in speaking of Britain as 'enemy territory' during a speech to the Embassy staff, she thought that was common knowledge. As John Dugdale, M.P. said in a letter to the *Daily Herald* (January 6) 'Frau Schlitter says what her friends think. She has told us now before it is too late. Do not give arms to Frau Schlitter's friends.'

Equally false and dangerous is 'the illusion of the possibility of holding a Four Power conference', to which Malenkov referred in

his reply to the American Telenews Agency, published on January 1. To pretend that the Soviet Union could seriously discuss the occupation of the German Democratic Republic by a rearmed imperialist West Germany, on any terms whatsoever—which is what talks about ‘German unity’ would mean once the Paris treaties entered into force—is sheer gross dishonesty. And indeed, as we have seen, *The Times* has admitted that one real consequence would be ‘at last’ the formal break-up of Germany—a position she has not been in since 1871.

Naturally, the creation of such a dangerous situation in Europe would have yet another immediate consequence. It would necessitate counter-armament in the U.S.S.R. and the People’s Democracies—on such a scale, and with such resources which were lacking in the thirties, as to make even the German robber-knights stop and scratch their heads before deciding to make the plunge eastwards once again, after their experiences in the Soviet ‘mincing machine’ from 1941 to 1944. The Soviet Union, the People’s Democracies and the German Democratic Republic gave clear warning of this in the Declaration they issued on December 2, after a conference in Moscow. They said that if the Paris treaties were ratified they would undertake joint measures for ‘the organisation of armed forces and their command, and also other measures necessary for strengthening their defence capacity’. Subsequently this was reinforced, after a conference at Prague from December 29 to 31, by representatives of the Parliaments of Poland, Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic. In their joint resolution they said that their three states ‘are directly threatened by the revival of the revenge-seeking Wehrmacht’, and would strengthen their co-operation and mutual aid accordingly.

Some of the more irresponsible commentators, particularly in the Sunday press, have displayed their idiot satisfaction at the prospect that rearmament would prove a heavy burden on the economy of the socialist countries, just when they have begun rapid improvements in the living standards of their people. These commentators naturally give no thought to the further worsening of living standards of the Western peoples: if in Britain the official cost of living index was pushed up by swelling armaments from 100 to 145 between June, 1947, and November, 1954, while the Soviet Union was *reducing* its arms expenditure, what would happen if armaments began to expand all over Eastern Europe?

Lastly, an immediate consequence of ratification is bound to be a worsening of international relations generally. Even *The Times* leading article of January 1 admitted that 1955 was likely 'to have some stormy months' and 'to be a time of strain'. The kind of thing we may expect has already been shown by Iraq's rupture of diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R., so obviously unprovoked that the official notification read like unintelligible gibberish.

Even from this brief summary it must be obvious that the preservation of world peace would become very much harder and more doubtful, and the war-mongers in the world much stronger, if the Paris treaties were ratified. At the end of 1954 it was *The Times* Review of the Year, not any Communist publication, which described the international situation as follows: 'Over all there hovered the vague spectre of "universal death"'. Like a *memento mori* thrust before the guests at an Egyptian feast, causing a momentary chill but by no means interrupting the proceedings, the threat of nuclear annihilation touched all men with an icy hand'. The review only failed to mention that the ruling classes of Britain and the U.S.A. had recently decided to put the means of nuclear annihilation into the hands of the German militarists and their industrial patrons who had shown by their massacres in Russia, Poland, Yugoslavia and by their wholesale murder of millions in the gas chambers, by their obliteration bombings at Rotterdam, Belgrade and Coventry, that the death of the greater part of mankind would not worry them.

Nevertheless, what *The Times* discreetly omitted, millions of people are saying out loud. For the astonishing paradox is this: that the decisions to endorse German rearmament have been taken in circumstances of extraordinary contempt for public opinion, as though the nations are the same as they were in 1914, when they could be driven blindly over the cliff of destruction like the Gadarene swine, or as they were in 1936-39, when only minorities in the capitalist countries were rallying against Fascism. The contemptible devices for getting the Paris treaties ratified will not stand the close scrutiny of the peoples.

The decision of the House of Commons was secured by a minority vote—260 for, 365 against or abstained. In the French National Assembly, there were 287 for, 339 against or abstained. Why the huge numbers of abstentions? Just because hundreds of M.P.'s knew that the overwhelming majority of working people were against re-arming the Germans. This becomes particularly clear if we look, not

at votes, but at the class line-up. In Great Britain it was the party commanding the votes of the great majority of British wage earners which abstained (and only failed to vote against because the will of the mass of the workers was defied and misrepresented at the Labour Party conference, as described by R. W. Casasola in the November *Labour Monthly*.) In West Germany the whole Social Democratic Party, the whole T.U.C. with its six million members, not only condemned the Paris treaties but in January, 1955, launched a mass campaign against their ratification. In the French National Assembly it was the Communist Party, which even its most unprincipled traducers admit has behind it the great majority of the French working class, that stood solid as a rock against the treaties: while every other party, including the Socialists, was split just because the interests of its capitalist masters pulled one way and fear of the alert and indignant peasant, worker, and town middle class electorate pulled the other. Never before has there been such an international demonstration of how the political tricksters of monopoly capitalism use the parliamentary machinery to conceal, thwart and defy the conscious will of the mass of the people.

But just because the trickery has been done so publicly, its operators are not at all sure of the results. This explains why, as a reinsurance, they have been resorting without restraint to a world-wide press and radio campaign of suppression of facts and suggestion of falsehood in order to create the impression that there is no alternative to German rearmament, indeed that it is the best way to secure world peace. Hence the lie that negotiations with the U.S.S.R. about German unity are possible, and even are planned to open, once ratification is complete—and the criminal suppression, again and again, by nearly all the newspapers, of the explicit Soviet statements to the contrary. Hence the lie that Four Power talks for lessening European and world tension will proceed on a ‘sounder’ basis, once the rearming of Germany begins—and the criminal concealment from the nations of the warnings by the U.S.S.R. and the East European states that, on the contrary, it will launch a dangerous armaments race and a considerable heightening of the war peril. Hence also the complete elimination from the press (meaning, not only exclusion from the news columns, but also refusal to publish letters, texts of Notes, Government statements, etc.) of all information about the Soviet Union’s offers:

- (i) To discuss (on the basis of the Anglo-French proposals) the holding of free elections in Germany in 1955—providing West Germany is not rearmed.

- (ii) To evacuate the major portion of all foreign troops from both sections of Germany.
- (iii) To lay down the size of limited defence and police contingents in both parts of Germany, by Four-Power agreement, and to instal Four-Power supervising bodies all over Germany to see that the limits are observed.
- (iv) To hold a general conference on European security which would set up machinery to guarantee mutual protection and peace to all states in Europe, large and small, without exception.

It is to the credit of the British people that hundreds of trade union, Labour Party, women's, shop stewards and peace bodies and co-operative organisations, have been going into action, particularly in the New Year, in spite of all these difficulties, to demand an end of the Paris treaties, immediate negotiations with the U.S.S.R. and a recall conference of the Labour Party. Their efforts are echoed in France by the mighty campaign in which Catholics and Conservatives have joined with Communists and Socialists in the town and village councils, the factories, the Departments, and in Parliament to denounce ratification. Not since 1933, perhaps not since 1914, have there been such united demonstrations of protest, including political strikes, in Western Germany as the brazen Anglo-American threat to rearm their ancient enemy, the militarist bullies, have aroused.

But still more needs to be done, if the threat of ratification is to be averted and the road to genuine peace—the peaceful co-existence and co-operation of countries with different social, economic and political systems—opened. What makes this campaign so different from every other is that, in it, every mass protest, every new advance, finds an immediate echo across the frontiers, inspires and encourages the great struggle going on in other countries. This is not a chance feature. It is due to the nature of the issue itself—war or peace in Europe, the destruction or the preservation of humanity. When the Pope himself has called for ‘a bridge of truth’ to be thrown across the gulf between the two camps, to ‘collaborate towards a renewed basis of unity for the human race’, by the millions of both believers and unbelievers, it is a sign that indeed the crucial moment has arrived. For the united decisiveness and the pressure of the millions today can in real truth lift the black cloud of ‘universal death’, destroy the nightmare of ‘nuclear annihilation’ and lead the world on to the road to a better future.

NEHRU & INDIAN COMMUNISM

AJOY GHOSH

[This important article by Ajoy Ghosh, general secretary of the Communist Party of India, appeared first in the weekly New Age of Delhi and is reprinted because of its interest for our readers.—Ed., L.M.]

SINCE his return from China, Pandit Nehru has made a number of speeches which have stressed the supreme need of Sino-Indian unity. In a forthright manner, he has declared his conviction that the Chinese people do not want war. He has been emphasising that the friendship between these two great neighbours, big and powerful, is a mighty bulwark for peace and freedom. Pandit Nehru has also paid a handsome tribute to the leaders of New China for the way they are striving to bring about a quick transformation of their country.

We Communists whole-heartedly welcome every one of these positions; they constitute an unanswerable reply to the imperialist warmongers who are dead-set on branding China as having aggressive designs on the countries of South-East Asia. Not only that, we hold that the initiation of the Five Tenets of the principle of peaceful co-existence, enunciated by the Chou-Nehru Declaration, has been a significant landmark in the annals of Asia. The clear and unequivocal pledge of friendship between these two great Asian neighbours is a matter of tremendous importance not only for the countries of Asia, but for the cause of peace and freedom in the whole world. It has dealt a big blow to the imperialist system, creating consternation in the entire imperialist camp, and jubilation in the camp of democratic States and among the people of every land.

It is, therefore, an imperative task of the democratic forces in India to mobilise our people behind these historic Five Tenets of peaceful co-existence, and the Communist Party takes an active part in this national task.

Coupled with these important steps furthering the cause of peace and of the democratic camp, Pandit Nehru has recently made quite a few attacks on the Communists, the peak of which was reached in the broadsides he fired in the public meeting at Delhi last week.* Coming as they do from Pandit Nehru, who holds a position of special eminence in the country, it is necessary to examine these points of attack upon the Communists. Pandit Nehru has stated

*The last week of November, 1954.

that the Indian Communists in the past had condemned his foreign policy and are now puzzled when his foreign policy has earned the praise of countries like the Soviet Union and China. There is no question of Communists being 'puzzled' by the present shift in Pandit Nehru's foreign policy. They welcome this shift. Let it be remembered that it is the Communist Party almost single handed that has had all these years since the advent of independence fearlessly and consistently called for orientation of India's foreign policy in a progressive direction and has campaigned for closer Indian ties with the countries like the Soviet Union and China that have rid their countries from the grip of imperialism and are on guard against its onslaughts.

For a party that has almost single-handedly warned our people against the menacing shadow of American imperialism over the countries of Asia, the present stand of Pandit Nehru's Government against the war-designs of American imperialism in Asia could not but evoke whole-hearted support.

But Pandit Nehru is right when he says that in the past we Indian Communists did attack his foreign policy as subservient to Anglo-American imperialist powers. But this is an issue which demands self-examination not by Communists but by Pandit Nehru himself. Can any serious student of Indian affairs deny that the foreign policy of Pandit Nehru's Government has undergone a shift in the last five years? Is it not necessary for Pandit Nehru to ponder and ask why was it that we Communists attacked his foreign policy, sharp and straight, in the past? In those days, the Government of India had over and over again proclaimed its close association in the world scene with the imperialist powers of Britain and America. Speaking at this very city of Delhi, five years ago, on March 22, 1949, Pandit Nehru declared:

At the present moment you will see that as a matter of fact we have far closer relations with some countries of the Western World than with others. It is partly due to historic and partly due to other factors, present-day factors of various kinds. These close relations will no doubt develop and we will encourage them to develop.

There is no gainsaying the fact that the 'Western Powers' referred to above are in the main the British and American imperialisms. We have also to note that India spectacularly sided with the Anglo-American bloc in the Security Council when on June 27, 1950, was passed the infamous resolution which branded North Korea as an aggressor and thereby gave the passport of the United Nations for the American invaders of Korea, who brought the world to the very

verge of war. Who the real aggressor was has been revealed since by the utterances of Syngman Rhee and his American masters. As late as March, 1951, when India put her signature on the American offer under the Mutual Defence Assistance Pact, Dean Acheson, the U.S. Secretary of State, made it quite clear that the aid given under the pact was 'required by the Government of India to maintain its internal security, its legitimate self-defence or permit it to participate in the defence of the area of which it is a part', and it stipulated that our Government, in case of transfer of the articles obtained under the aid, 'will obtain the consent of the United States of America': while it permitted the U.S.A. to retain 'the privileges of diverting items of equipment or of not completing services undertaken if such action is dictated by consideration of United States national interest. . . .' When, later on, U.S. imperialist circles clamoured against India taking the first initial steps marking herself apart from the imperialist bloc, Mrs. Pandit as a spokesman of Pandit Nehru's Government, tendered India's *bona fides*, as it were, to the Anglo-American bloc when she beseechingly said:

In the recent sessions of the General Assembly, we voted as you did 38 times out of 51, abstaining 11 times and differing from you only twice.

It is thus clear that it is not the Indian Communists who deserve to be criticised for attacking Pandit Nehru's foreign policy in those days, but it was Pandit Nehru's foreign policy in those days which deserves to be criticised for in the main, being influenced by Anglo-American imperialists.

The Communists have nothing to regret for having warned all through against India being guided by British advice in the matter of Kashmir; it is not the Communists but Pandit Nehru himself who on the advice of Lord Mountbatten took the Kashmir question to the Security Council, and agreed to abide by the protracted imperialist manoeuvres under the aegis of the United Nations. Not till December 1952, did Pandit Nehru's Government stand up against the offensive and dangerous moves of the Anglo-American bloc in the Security Council with regard to Kashmir. And it was not until the beginning of this year that Pandit Nehru came forward against the American agents in Kashmir masquerading as U.N. observers—about whom the Communists had warned from the beginning.

The Communists have nothing to regret for protesting against Pandit Nehru's attack on the heroic fighters for Malayan freedom during his trip there in 1949, an attack which could only be of advantage to the British butchers who have been perpetrating horrors in Malaya.

The Communists have nothing to regret for having unearthed the sinister arrangement by which Britain was allowed to recruit Gurkha troops on Indian soil for despatch against Malayan patriots. Pandit Nehru after having denied it in Parliament in 1952 had to admit it when the Communists brought it to light with unanswerable evidence. We can understand Pandit Nehru's embarrassment over the issue, but it does not behove him to attack the Communists for having condemned this sordid episode of his foreign policy. Equally sordid was the exposure of the transit facility that the French imperialists were enjoying, on the sly, at Indian airports for despatching troops to defend their empire in Indo-China. In this case too, right this year, Pandit Nehru's denial in Parliament was followed within a few weeks by the exposure by the Communist Party which compelled the Government to stop the practice.

Are we Communists to be blamed for having criticised this part of Pandit Nehru's foreign policy? Rather we are proud to have done it as a national vindication of India's refusal to help imperialists to crush other countries, striving like ourselves, to be free.

Right today, the Communist Party warns the Government and the country against the danger of accepting U.S. aid and points to the bitter fruits of abject subservience that came to the lot of many a free country in Europe after accepting the tempting aids that American imperialism had been offering them for years. We have no hesitation in saying that we Communists are still opposed to the various U.S. aids being accepted, coming as they do from an imperialist power which has proclaimed in no uncertain terms its objective of world conquest in the name of fighting Communism. We have warned and shall not cease warning against this danger to our sovereignty, drawing lessons not only from distant lands but from the fate of the neighbour at our doorstep, Pakistan, which starting from economic aid has sold her pass to U.S. imperialism. In his last speech in Parliament before leaving for China, Pandit Nehru while denouncing the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation war-combine, stated:

I realise that the motives may be and are good. I repeat that countries in Asia, as well as those outside have certain fears and those fears may have justification. . . . Most of these countries are afraid not of what Governments do officially, but what they might do *sub rosa* through the activities of the Communist Party in these countries. This is one of the serious difficulties that have arisen in international affairs.

This was, in a way, giving almost a justification to the imperialists for hatching such a war plot, and it was hailed precisely for this

Gabriel on German Rearmament



Brighton Vote



"I thought you said we must rearm them or they would rearm themselves!"

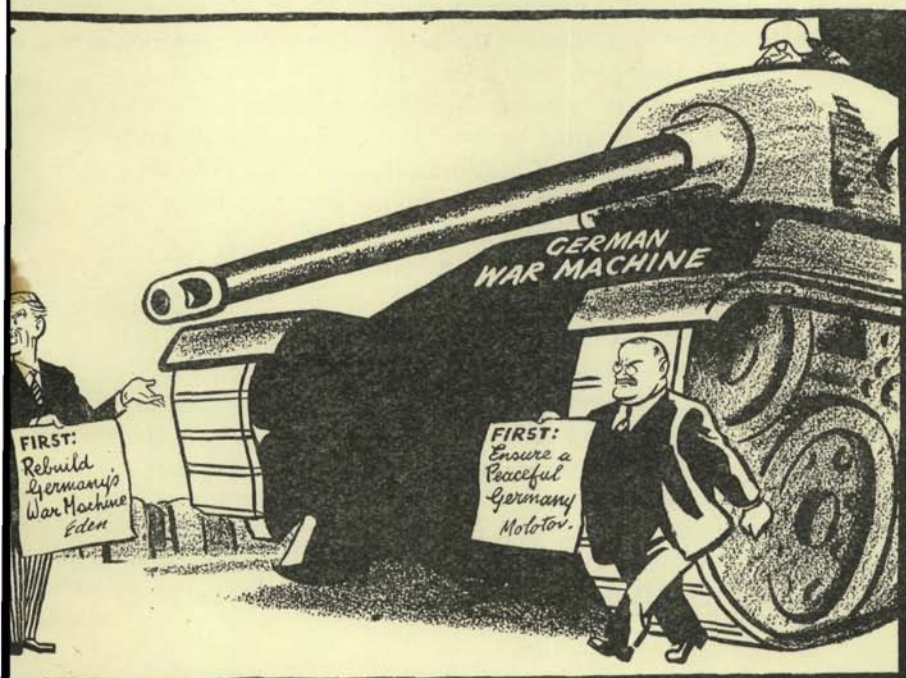
"You think ag



(with acknowledgements to the Daily Worker)



and be agreeable to that soldier, or we'll be very disagreeable to you !”



“Who speaks for Britain's security ?”

very reason by the entire imperialist press. What was expected of Pandit Nehru, who has refused to be drawn into such a plot, was to show up that the talk of Communist menace was just a cover by the imperialists for their designs on the countries of Asia. Nor can we overlook the fact that although Gurkha recruiting centres have been closed down, after mass protests were voiced, transit facilities through India are still being afforded to the British Government for despatching Gurkhas to Malaya.

Pandit Nehru is irritated by the Communist warning against staying within the British Commonwealth. We make it quite clear that our stay inside the British Commonwealth goes against our independent defence. We need not go very far but quote from *Economist* (London) which is the voice of British finance. Referring to the visit of the British Chief of Staff Harding who is just now visiting our country, the paper says:

His journey is unusual in that it is the first time since 1950 that a British Chief of Staff has set foot in India or Pakistan; the fact that he was invited by the Commanders-in-Chief of both the Pakistan and the Indian Armies, who delivered their invitations when they attended Commonwealth Staff exercises in London in August, shows how close the professional relationship with the British Army remains even now that nearly all the British officers who were left behind in 1947 to train their successors have returned home. (November 20, 1954.)

Today Winston Churchill has openly bragged about his fiendish designs even during the war of using the Nazis against the very ally, U.S.S.R., that saved Europe from Hitler slavery. This has sent a wave of horror and revulsion among all the decent sections of world public. And yet, Pandit Nehru agrees to go to the Commonwealth Conference over which Winston Churchill presides. Not only that. The men with whom Pandit Nehru will confer there, the bosses of the British Dominions, are the very people who are actively building the S.E.A.T.O. war bloc, which he has himself denounced.

For a statesman of Asia whose advocacy of Sino-Indian amity has won the ready approbation of the entire peace-loving mankind, to sit at the same imperial table with men who parade their perfidy brings neither glory nor honour to India but provides a respectable alibi to those who are plotting to build up new armies for another world war. It is this aspect of India's foreign policy—the aspect that follows directly from our links with the British Commonwealth—that the Communists have never hesitated to attack. But despite these links with the British imperialists, which we want to be broken, whenever and wherever Pandit Nehru has taken a definite stand that

has helped the cause of peace and curbed the imperialists, the Communist Party has come out in whole-hearted support of each and every one of such moves.

Even in the days when Pandit Nehru's Government was trying to suppress the Communists with armed violence, his demand for the seating of People's China in the U.N., his warning against the crossing of the Yalu river by American troops, his move to stop the war in Korea and refusal to sign the San Francisco Treaty—all these brought forth the support of the Communists, though his Government was doing its best to stifle their voice. In the recent past, every one of his moves in the direction of peace—whether against the H-bomb, the presence of U.S. observers in Kashmir, the signing of the Sino-Indian Treaty on Tibet, the Chou-Nehru Declaration, the Geneva Agreement, the denunciation of S.E.A.T.O. or his visit to China—received the whole-hearted support of the Indian Communists. Not only that: on many of the issues the Communists strove to mobilise the people, as against the U.S. observers in Kashmir, the U.S.-Pak. Pact, or for the popularisation of the Five Tenets of the Chou-Nehru Declaration.

At the same time where we did not hesitate to criticise—and do not hesitate even today—is precisely where there is attachment to the Anglo-American bloc, particularly to the link with the British Commonwealth, because it is clear that these attachments and links with imperialist powers undermine the very position of eminence that India has won today in the international field by siding with the forces of peace and refusing to be towed into the imperialist bloc for war. If India is to play her rightful role as a consistent defender of peace and freedom, it is essential that she breaks away from those very links with imperialist powers.

It is thus the Communists who can claim to follow a consistent line in foreign policy, for the touchstone of every one of their stands is whether a particular move strengthens India's position or throws her into the band-wagon of imperialism. Pandit Nehru has talked about the half-hearted support of the Communists for his foreign policy. But there is no half-hearted stand in the dictionary of Communists. They come out in unequivocal support for what they think is correct. What they consider is wrong, they oppose equally unequivocally.

(In the second part of his article, which will be printed next month, Ajoy Ghosh deals with the internal situation in India and answers Jawaharlal Nehru's criticisms.)

THE COMMONWEAL

WILLIAM MORRIS

[On the seventieth anniversary of The Commonweal which first appeared as a monthly journal in February, 1885, we have pleasure in reprinting the introductory article by William Morris together with a note on the contents of that issue. Readers will remember that Morris, heading a majority of the Council of the Social-Democratic Federation against H. M. Hyndman, John Burns and others, had founded (on December 30, 1884) the Socialist League. Eleanor Marx joined the new society which at this stage also had the support of Frederick Engels.—Ed., L.M.]*

WE beg our readers' leave for a few words in which to introduce to them this Socialist journal, *The Commonweal*. In the first place we ask them to understand that the Editor and Sub-Editor of *The Commonweal* are acting as delegates of the Socialist League, and under its direct control; any slip in principles, therefore, any mis-statement of the aims or tactics of the League, are liable to correction from the representatives of that body.

As to the conduct of *The Commonweal*, it must be remembered that it has one aim—the propagation of Socialism. We shall not, therefore, make any excuses for what may be thought journalistic shortcomings, if we can but manage to attract attention to the study of our principles from those who have not yet thought of Socialism, or who are, as often happens, bitterly hostile to them through ignorance; or if we can help those whose feelings are drawing them towards the cause of the workers, but who need definite instruction as to its aims and methods. To awaken the sluggish, to strengthen the waverers, to instruct the seekers after truth; these are high aims, yet not too high for a journal that claims to be Socialistic, and we hope by patience and zeal to accomplish them.

It is our duty to attack unsparingly the miserable system which would make all civilisation end in a society of rich and poor, of slaves and slave-owners. In all its details we must attack it; but in doing so we shall avoid mere personalities, not for the sake of escaping the accusations of bad taste and bitterness, which doubtless will in any case be flung at us, but because it is illogical to attack

*See *Labour Monthly*, July and September, 1951, 'Unpublished Letters of Wm. Morris' (subsequently reprinted as a shilling pamphlet).

those men, monstrous as their position is, who are themselves mere helpless wheels in the terrible machine of modern commerce. To attack such persons, unless they put themselves forward as the representatives of the system, implies the belief that the decency or benevolence of their conduct would usefully palliate the evils of that system; an implication against which we protest from the outset.

The Commonweal will only deal with political matters when they directly affect the progress of the Cause. We assume as a matter of course that a government of privileged persons, hereditary and commercial, cannot act usefully or rightly towards the community; their position forbids it; their arrangements for the distribution of the plunder of the workers, their struggles for the national share of the exploitation of barbarous peoples are nothing to us except so far as they may give us an opportunity of instilling Socialism into men's minds, or of organising discontent into Socialism.

We invite from all, Socialists or others, free discussion of anything we put forward, in the belief that even an uninstructed attack may elicit useful information which might otherwise have lain dormant.

Our articles will, for the most part, be of an educational nature; there will be a series on historical revolutions, expositions of the scientific basis of Socialism, and contributions from men of various nationalities.

Lastly, a word of appeal, to the workers, chiefly. It is not only that whatever we say is professedly directly in their interest: much more it is that through them alone, through the slaves of society, we look for its regeneration, for its elevation from its present corruption and misery. We cannot pretend to think that they, the workers, as yet know much of the principles of the cause that rests upon them, of their own cause, in fact. We beseech them to help us in spreading knowledge of those principles amongst their fellows, that as we believe they will now find us honest, so their support may make us resolute, patient, and hopeful—in a word, successful in our efforts for the furtherance of the cause we have at heart.

NOTE

In *The Commonweal* (Vol. 1, No. 1, February, 1885. One Penny. Official Journal of the Socialist League) there are eight two-column pages, each measuring roughly 15 by 10 inches. On the first page immediately below the heading and in the first column is the Introductory by Morris. Then comes

the Manifesto of the Socialist League, signed by its Provisional Council of 23 members beginning with W. B. Adams, Edward Aveling, Eleanor Marx Aveling, Robert Banner, E. Belfort Bax, etc. The Manifesto begins:

FELLOW CITIZENS, We come before you as a body advocating the principles of Revolutionary International Socialism; that is, we seek a change in the basis of Society—a change which would destroy the distinctions of classes and nationalities. As the civilised world is at present constituted, there are two classes of Society—the one possessing wealth and the instruments of its production, the other producing wealth by means of those instruments but only by the leave and for the use of the possessing classes. These two classes are necessarily in antagonism to one another.

Page two begins an article titled 'Imperialism v. Socialism' by E. Belfort Bax: this runs on to page three on which brief notes headed 'Signs of the Times' begins.

Page four on its first column has ordinary editorial matter. 'Communications, which must be addressed to . . .'; list of persons who had promised to contribute, significantly including Engels, W. Liebknecht and Paul Lafargue; list of weekly subscriptions and a description of where the journal can be obtained; an appeal for members of the Socialist League itself and asking for funds. 'Subscriptions can be acknowledged in the publication but initials only can be given if desired.' On the second column of page four, appears for the first time the famous song 'March of the Workers' by William Morris.

Page five has 'English Socialism and the *Weekly Dispatch*, an article by Edward Aveling, followed by 'Lessons in Socialism' being the syllabus of a first course of eight lessons on Marx's *Capital* given by Aveling. There is an announcement of a meeting on February 7, 1885, at South Place to explain the objects of the lessons, the speakers including Morris.

Page six has 'Signs of the Times' continued from page three; a signed article by Joseph Lane on 'East End Workers'; and 'The Peterloo Massacre', an eye-witness account of August 16, 1819, in Manchester, by E. R. Craig.

Page seven has 'Record of the Revolutionary International Movement', contributed by Eleanor Marx Aveling on Austria, Germany, France; and reports of Socialist League Branches.

Page eight contains Provisional Rules of the Socialist League (in full); report of the founding of the Edinburgh University Socialist Society the year before, with William Morris lecturing; and of the Scottish Land and Labour League. Also the secretary's report of the founding of the Socialist League on December 30, naming the founders; that William Morris had been appointed Treasurer and J. L. Mahon Secretary, and that on January 6 William Morris and Edward Aveling were appointed editor and sub-editor. On January 13 a resolution proposed by Bax and Morris was passed, condemning the infamous action of the secret political police against the *Cri du Peuple*. The page concludes with the lecture list of the Labour Emancipation League (affiliated to the Socialist League), including William Morris on 'How we Live and How we Might Live' on February 1; on 'Useful Work and Useless Toil' at Southwark on the 22nd.

DEPRESSION, SLIDE OR RECESSION IN AMERICA*

SANCHO PANZA

THIS essay does not deal with the economic depression, slide or recession in America which has arrived, or is just round the corner, or is about to end, because everybody knows about that. We are here concerned with the mental and spiritual depression with which at present the American people are stricken. Depression is a normal reaction to hurtful and puzzling things over which one has no control. Many of the American people have surrendered thinking and with it all responsibility and control over things. This cannot be done with impunity. America is a country populated by human beings of varying colour and shape like any other part of the world, but there the resemblance ends. No other country is so advanced in everything, particularly in mental and spiritual depression. This depression is inherent in the present-day American Way of Life and has its ups and downs like any other depression. The height and depth of the mental and spiritual depression can be measured by fear.

SYMPTOMS OF DEPRESSION

'It is a miserable thing to live in suspense; it is the life of a spider.'—*Swift*.

What are the principal symptoms of depression? Let us take first 'fear' which is the parent of other symptoms and in itself the most destructive. Fear has been a great curse in the history of mankind and it has been the ambition of men to free humanity from this curse. But not so in America. There it has been considered necessary for the good of mankind and the American people to keep public fear and anxiety alive by every means. Fear is considered the only reliable mainspring of policy and action and the only power capable of uniting the nation. Lest the adult population of America should succumb to the dangerous desire of being without fear, the thrill of fear and suspense is inculcated from early years by comics, films and special radio and television programmes. The other symptoms

*When writing or talking about some features of the American Way of Life it is customary to begin with 'I am not really anti-American, but, . . .'. I couldn't do it, because I am strongly pro-American and feel deep admiration for all those Americans who in adverse circumstances are fighting for a dignified life. Lest some British readers might feel superior to the American people, let me point out that many features described here equally apply to Britain.

of the depression mostly derive from fear, like panic, alarm, terror, uneasiness, suspicion, weariness, sadness, confusion, lack of confidence, feelings of guilt, fretfulness, boredom, hangover and profound pessimism. All these symptoms are present in the America of today and have their repercussions on social, economic, political, military and cultural conditions and are often the cause of agonising re-appraisals of American conduct. Before we come to the causes of the depression, we shall have to deal with remedies offered by those in charge of the American people. This seems illogical, but it isn't, because most of the proposed remedies are in their turn causes of the depression.

TREATMENT OF DEPRESSION

'He that will apply new remedies must expect new evils.'—Anon.

The principle of the treatment is simple. It is to break by every means available the will of the people and their desire to be normal citizens capable of feeling and thinking. The aim of the treatment is to turn some of the citizens into supermen and superwomen, who are not daunted by the symptoms of the depression, but rather revel in them. The remainder of the citizens are naturally destined as victims of the supermen and superwomen and their symptoms are being aggravated. The most important doctors chosen to deal with the depression are: psychiatrists, demagogues, filmstars, science fiction writers, fortune-tellers, spiritualists, novelists, astrologers, ghosts, newspapers, radio, television, philosophers and other merchants of ideas and lies. The remedies offered by these doctors include: investigations, psycho-analysis, sleeping pills, day-dreams, make-believe, self-analysis, drink, brainwashing, witches' potions, comics, crime stories, ghost stories, sex stories, pep drugs, pre-digested mental and physical food, gadgets, martial toys, and above all, occupation with cosmic affairs (as opposed to home and world affairs) and with the philosophic questions of space and time. We cannot comment here on all the remedies, except to say that they are no remedies, but causes of the depression. Your mind is too fragile to be investigated and tampered with by psycho-analysts. At best you may find it filled up with things which do not belong to you, but most probably you will lose it altogether. Day-dreams and make-believe have a habit of making you come down with a bump back to the earth and hurt you in the process. You certainly cannot with impunity occupy yourself with cosmic affairs, problems of space and time and supernatural phenomena like ghosts and flying

saucers. These will inevitably make you think of the smallness of man, of the shortness, limitation and futility of man's existence and will make you sad, apprehensive and fearful.

CAUSES OF DEPRESSION

'The world is of little use to those who cannot read it.'—Walt Whitman.

In a broadcast in the Third Programme even Bertrand Russell, whose philosophy does not very much differ in essentials from American philosophy, said:

From the highest flights of philosophy to the silliest movie, the distinctive feature of American thought and feeling is a determination to have done with the notion of 'fact'. We used to think it a good thing if our beliefs were 'true', and we imagined that 'truth' consisted in correspondence with 'fact'. If you believe (say) that Edinburgh is north of London, you believe truly, because of a geographical fact which is quite independent of our belief. And so we thought it our duty to recognise 'facts', even if they were unpleasant. Not so, says the typical American philosophy.

The main cause of the present depression in America is undoubtedly her philosophy which rejects reason, ignores and despises facts, in particular geographical facts. Facts are solid things and it is good to have something solid at the back of you, otherwise you will float unhappily in the thin air of make-believe, unreason and demagoguery and will be prey to terror, nightmares and other manifestations of the depression. The word 'fact', of course, exists in American dictionaries and it is more often used in America than anywhere else, because 'fact-finding' is a great hobby in America and is also supposed to be a good remedy against depression. 'Fact-finding' committees and teams are constantly being sent to other countries. American politicians and newspaper men are roaming all over the world trying to find 'facts' for themselves. Thousands of tons of good paper and thousands of people are used for compiling the found 'facts' in all the departments of American life. 'Fact-finding' is also very remunerative business. As the found 'facts' are most often 'classified' (meaning secret) it is difficult to know what they really are, but we can be certain that they do not correspond to our understanding of facts, because the lack of knowledge of simple geography in America is appalling. Adults in high places are firmly convinced that, for instance, Russia, China and Korea are situated on the doorstep of America, that Japan, Germany and Spain are neighbours and that America itself is a revolving centre of the world capable of drawing all other countries into its orbit. The correctness of the well-known proverb that 'a little knowledge of geography

is worse than no knowledge' is demonstrated during every political day in America and by the intense and widespread fear and feeling of insecurity. World affairs which seemed to the Americans a satisfying occupation after the Second World War have become painful, and the global outlook soured. The attempts to redraw and readjust the map of the world with such small amount of knowledge of geography has only resulted in shrinkage of our planet in American eyes. They have begun seriously to feel that there is no room on our planet for the American body to stretch itself comfortably. Insignificant and poor though our planet may be with its one and only sun, it does not like to be tampered with and has said so. No wonder that America threatens the world with agonising reappraisals of world affairs. Many Americans have already begun to turn their eyes skywards to the contemplation of other more prosperous planets, with a view to increasing their possessions and eventually using them to punish our recalcitrant and unrepentant planet. As the geography of the sky can be simplified to suit everybody's taste, it has been found that the younger generation of America takes to the sky as a duck to the water. There is no need to learn the names of endless countries, towns, mountains, rivers and frontiers with which our planet abounds. The prospects are distinctly brighter. Occupation with cosmic affairs and with the problems of space and time has become a serious rival to the occupation with world affairs.

COSMIC AFFAIRS

'An inch of time cannot be bought by an inch of gold.'—Chinese proverb.

The curiosity of mankind has long been legitimately tickled by the planets and the possibility of space travel. What could be nicer than a trip to Mars to investigate the famous existing or non-existing canals and add to the sum total of human knowledge? But never before has the possibility of interplanetary travel been used as a remedy against depression and for military and political speculation. Here America has scored again. Preparations for space travel and for the conquest of planets are going ahead with full speed. Astronomers and scientists are busy measuring and calculating. The despatch boxes and departmental strong rooms abound with 'cosmic top secrets'. Shops are filled with necessary equipment like space ships, rockets, space suits and space guns. More paper has been used on handbooks of cosmic affairs, informative journals and comics, than on all the classics of the world, not

to mention books on geography. These are considered of no use to supermen, but only for softies and cissies. Time is an important element in cosmic affairs. To be able to go back and forward in time is not only thrilling, but means immeasurable power. A missionary visit to King Arthur's Court, for instance, would be a thousand times more pleasurable than participation in a doubtful Four Power Conference in some obscure corner of present-day Europe. Time in cosmic affairs is unlimited. Earth years are flea bites in space travel. But the world's affairs are conducted in limited time. Time on earth has always been in short supply. There are only 24 hours in a day, and it takes a year for the seasons to come round. The problem of time in world affairs has been the greatest headache for American leaders and a serious stumbling block for Big American ideas. All efforts have been made to corner time and make timing a great art and a great business. Time is being sold, bought, lent and borrowed. But the preoccupation with time is very depressing.

THOUGHTS

'Do not craze yourself with thinking, but go about your business anywhere.'—*Emerson.*

As we have pointed out, the calamitous depression has been brought about by the surrender of thinking. Thoughts have become the monopoly of a small section of American people. To make sure that no unauthorised thoughts are flying about in the country, a strict thought control has been imposed. Thoughts are hunted, unearthed and slain. But thoughts are slippery things. They seem to have a tendency to slip out of the embrace of the most rigorous control and settle themselves sometimes into quite unexpected heads. It costs lots of money, people and time to catch the thoughts who have freed themselves. This money, people and time the American leaders would have rather spent on bombs, other military equipment and on foreign aid, but how can you make bombs when thoughts are freely roaming the country and the world? There are many methods in America of dealing with the thoughts. They are either bought up or imprisoned, or shut up in mental homes, or washed and dyed or put into electric chairs. The buying up of thoughts has been up to now the most successful of the methods. Once you have bought a thing you can do what you like with it. And there are plenty of people ready to sell or barter not only thoughts but their souls and consciences. But even the method of buying up thoughts has its snags. You can never be sure whether the seller has sold you

all he has: because some thoughts may hide deep enough in the heads or hearts even of the most commercially minded people. And thoughts are often sold in America at the behest and pressure of American wives and daughters, but a divorce can undo commercial transactions. And divorces in America are galore. There is truth in the proverb which says that 'bought thoughts are as unreliable as bought friends'. Of course there are good, free and dangerous thoughts floating in the air or hiding in America, but they are yet very few and some of them very timid. It is not easy for them to find suitable heads to settle in. Most of the good thoughts are therefore still hiding in books. The books with good thoughts have become dangerous and are being dealt with. They are either banned, burnt or not written at all. What are good books? How is one to recognise a good book? The authorities know. So do Mr. Cohn and Mr. Shine. The hallmark of a good book is its undaunted belief in life, in people, in the future; its love for humanity; its hatred of destruction, of oppression, of cruelty and greed. What could be more dangerous for the established order and authority than good thoughts hidden in books? They could blow away the depression like a cobweb. Another headache for the authorities in America are schools, colleges and universities which could easily turn into breeding grounds for thoughts, as the teachers and professors cannot easily avoid thoughts and books; and the young have reputedly an enquiring mind. Therefore, many of the guns of the witch-hunt are trained on the teachers and professors, and the young are lavishly supplied with suitable antidotes against thoughts like comics, television programmes, gangster films, space travel equipment and appropriate military and gangster toys. Although the hunting of thoughts has very much deepened the depression it has nevertheless left a tiny corner just large enough to let in some rays of light.

WHITHER?

'Melancholy was made not for beasts, but for men; but if men give way to it overmuch, they turn to beasts.'—*Don Quixote*.

Of course, there are many simple things the American people could do if they would want to get rid of the depression. They could begin to think and not hide their thoughts. They could study a common or garden textbook of geography and accept facts. They could refuse to do things which are expected of them and which do not correspond to their thinking. The longer they put off doing

something about it the more pessimistic and helpless they will get. We would like to remind the American people of a letter addressed to them 118 years ago when Freedom in America was 60 years old:

To the citizens of the American Republic.

1837.

We are anxious to express our admiration of those republican institutions which were won by the valour and secured by the wisdom of your forefathers—men who justly proclaimed the rights of humanity without privilege and made liberty and equality the basis of social happiness . . . if you have not realised all social and political advantages . . . it is high time to ask yourselves the reason and to investigate the cause. . . . Why after 60 years of freedom have you not progressed further? Why are you to so great extent ruled by men, who speculate on your credulity and thrive on your prejudices?

Sixty years plus 118 makes 178 years. It is a very long time.

FROM THE *LABOUR MONTHLY* OF 25 YEARS AGO

SOUTH AFRICA

The frantic efforts of the 'Nationalist' Government to preserve the Colour Bar system, involving the exploitation on imperialist lines of six million black folk in South Africa, are becoming so difficult that cabinet ministers are breaking down under the strain and exhibiting a sort of political hysteria. This is particularly the case with Mr. Oswald Pirow, the young Minister of Justice, who has been responsible for two astounding pieces of proposed legislation and for the 'Durban Raid', all within six weeks. The Durban raid involved 'secret' movements of large bodies of police from Johannesburg to Durban, a staged aeroplane flight by the Minister to the scene of action, the rounding up of thousands of natives, and the imprisonment of those who had not paid their poll-tax for the current year. Tear gas bombs (with which the police have lately equipped themselves and which they were apparently anxious to test under 'field' conditions) were exploded amongst amazed and harmless groups of native onlookers. Natives were compelled to take off their hats and say 'Nkos' ('Master') to individual policemen. Thus did the white man demonstrate his superiority and Mr. Pirow his new-found powers as Minister of 'Justice'.

From *The World of Labour*: The Dingaan's Day Demonstrations, by E. R. Roux, February, 1930.

TELENGANA FRIENDS

D. N. PRITT, Q.C.

A DOZEN young peasants and workers from the Telengana district of Hyderabad State live in the Central prison in the city of Hyderabad. They have been in one prison or another since they were about 18; they are now about 25; they are subject to life imprisonment.

We are old friends. I first learnt of them when I admired the work they did in freeing their Telengana country from landlords and money-lenders—work destroyed with difficulty by an invading force of the Indian Army. Then, when they were sentenced to death by ‘special tribunals’ on framed-up charges, I was able to show my admiration in practical form by appearing for them before the Supreme Court of India. I succeeded only in getting them reprieved; but that was a basis for friendship. I wasn’t able to visit India again until December, 1954; but I then visited them in their prison.

Even if we had not been friends, they are worth crossing the world to see. They welcomed me with the traditional greeting of India, a garland of flowers, and gave me a book with all their signatures in it. So simple to sign, you think? But most of them were wholly illiterate when they were arrested, and they have all taught themselves in prison, to read and write in their own language of Telugu, whilst several of them have learnt English too. Nor have they studied only languages in prison; they study Marxism and Leninism profoundly, and work steadily and enthusiastically to prepare themselves to lead their people in freedom in the near future! (Nor is their optimism unjustified.) And meanwhile they are demanding facilities to sit for their University examinations.

Our long talk together was a very interesting and stimulating experience for me. These eager, keen, healthy, and spirited young men cross-examined me from prepared notes on every political problem of every continent. They wanted details of every political case I had conducted since last we met—of all of which they knew something. They displayed a pretty full knowledge of the political events and problems of the time. It was more a study circle than a jail visit. When they had exhausted their prepared questions, they asked me to tell them something they did not know! It was not easy to find a topic on which they were not already informed; on the contest then raging in the French Chamber over German rearmament, for instance, they knew as much as I did.

I asked if they needed anything. 'Thank you', they said, 'our friends give us pretty well all we need; but we would be grateful for a subscription to the *Labour Monthly*'.

What a future such young men promise to the world. And what is the good of the past trying to imprison the future?

THE SPIRIT OF LIBERTY

REGINALD BRIDGEMAN

REVOLT of subject peoples against foreign domination is an outstanding feature of human society today. In the struggle for national freedom blood is flowing in Asia and in Africa. Unrest grows in Central America, the West Indies, and throughout the Middle East. It is met by fierce imperialist repression. Britain is no longer the supreme imperial power. By means of the vast export of capital the U.S.A. has taken the lead, and the American Government utilises its position in the ex-enemy countries to force them within its economic control. The British people witnesses the steady curtailment of Britain's own political and economic independence, with the armed forces of the U.S.A. encamped in many parts of Old England. At such a moment the publication of an anti-imperialist novel, epic in character, by an author of the international status of James Aldridge, is so significant an event, that *Labour Monthly*, which does not ordinarily include novels among its reviews, has decided to make an exception.*

The author's homeland is Australia. As a war correspondent in the Soviet Union he gained experience of the new Socialist civilisation. His earlier novel, *The Diplomat*, with its pictures of war-time diplomacy in Moscow, and of the Kurdish tribes in Persia, was enthusiastically received. There is poetry in the writing of James Aldridge as well as profound political understanding. In this study of a people subjected by imperialism, and especially of the question of leading subject peoples in revolt Mr. Aldridge has been influenced by Lord Byron, and very deeply by Colonel T. E. Lawrence of Arabia. In *The Prisoner of Chillon* Byron proclaims that the spirit of liberty burns brightest in dungeons. During the British occupation Indians spoke of their country as one vast prison. Today in Kenya and Malaya large numbers of the people are confined in concentration camps.

*Heroes of the Empty View, by James Aldridge. The Bodley Head. 400 pp. 12s. 6d.

Mr. Aldridge has chosen as his scene to portray the struggle for national freedom, the Arabian Desert, a land inhabited by nomadic tribesmen, poorest and most primitive of mankind, still unsullied by the corruption of individual wealth. The plot is modelled on the military achievements of Colonel Ned Lawrence in Arab lands during the first world war. The hero, Ned Gordon, although he has saturated himself with the history of Lawrence's military campaigns, as well as Lawrence's writings, is fully aware that Lawrence, as the latter himself admits in the *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, deceived the Arabs, leading them, not to national freedom, but merely to the defeat of their Turkish conquerors with whom Britain was at war, in order that British imperialism might fasten its yoke upon them, dividing their territory into several kingdoms. Mr. Aldridge's hero speaks of Lawrence as follows:

You won't find him in that book (*Seven Pillars*). If you want to know the real Lawrence you can only find him in all other things he did. Or better still—read his letters. He only exists truthfully in his minor correspondence. All the facets of him, each one turned differently to different people. It reveals him. The inconsistency, puzzlement, self-torture, disgust, ambition, trickery, truth. He was such a wretched man—a charlatan in his own self-picture, but always longing not to be; always longing to believe the rest of the world in its other picture of him, but suspecting it. Always suspecting.

As an imperialist agent of exceptional ability, possessed of a thorough knowledge of Arabic and of the customs and way of living of the Arabs, Lawrence could obtain a steady supply of arms and planes from Allenby's H.Q. in Egypt, as well as gold. Mr. Aldridge's hero has only his wits and his passionate enthusiasm for the freedom of an oppressed nation to help him. He is no Marxist. His whole attitude is anti-Communist, and it is his anarchism which decides Tess, the Communist student from a Glasgow slum, with whom Gordon falls in love, to reject his offer of marriage.

The story opens in Arabia. Gordon has enrolled himself in the band of Arab tribesmen under the leadership of Prince Hamid, in their attempt to seize the aerodrome, which guards the oil-field at Bahraz. The aeroplanes patrol the borderlands of the Arab tribal lands. The attempt fails, and a condition of the settlement of the revolt between the British authorities and the tribes is that Gordon leaves Arabia for good.

After staying in England for a period during which he maintains contact with his Arab friends, Gordon goes back to Arabia to join a new revolt, the immediate aim of which is the capture of the

Bahraz oil-field itself. This time the industrialised workers of Bahraz under Communist leadership join forces with the Tribesmen inspired and led by Gordon, and the oil-field is taken. But Gordon was under the conviction that if the oil-field passed into the possession of the Tribesmen it would destroy the primitive simplicity of their lives which he admired, and so in order to prevent the oil-field from becoming 'the terrible implement of Marxist dogma in Arabia', he meets his end with his hands on the lever in the field's power house which has been specially contrived to enable the field to be smashed up in an emergency.

This novel is important because of its Australian authorship. Dominion influence on the policy of the British Commonwealth is rapidly growing. Canadians indeed are wondering how soon the British Government will decide to transfer the centre of imperial rule from London to Canada. The views of an Australian writer on British society demand our attention just because they surprise us. One may suppose that even if Britain ceases to be the centre of imperial rule the English-speaking Commonwealth countries may wish to maintain the colonial empire, perhaps even in a Republican form.

Mr. Aldridge wholly succeeds in establishing the principle of equality between peoples. He insists that the West has much to learn from the dignity, the courtesy and the selflessness of the Tribal Arabs. He is critical of certain of Britain's leading institutions, the Parliamentary system, the structure of our Trades Unions, our scholastic system. 'I like scholastics and perhaps it is my choice,' says Ned's brother Jack, 'but it's no good when it becomes a hole and corner for sensitive men to hide in. Half the men of the academic world are in it because they aren't strong enough to find anything humane and satisfying in the busy world outside. Learning becomes the social task of the weak.' The Social-Democratic professional journalist, Vesubie, urged Gordon, back from Arabia, to stand for Parliament, impressing upon him that the 'Nation is ruled by people, not by themes or things'.

Tess reproaches Gordon for always facing the extremes in politics and tasting them but not choosing between them. Gordon's view is that:

The choice is now absolute between the dumb, dull, bottom and the cruel, acquisitive, top. . . . The whole world is choosing. That's the fate for all of us. The poor against the rich, the downtrodden upon the strong. It's nation unto nation. It's China to America, Russia unto the whole world. Russia, America, that's the size of the choice. And England, of

the temperate middle, is only an old butterfly drifting with the torrent. The middle way is dead. The extremes lie before us.

The Intelligence Service is scathingly exposed: 'Intelligence? how that good word is hurt by all those plotters and corruptors and hypocrites and middle-mannered, second-hand ignoble brutes we call intelligence men.'

This novel shows that the struggle against imperialism is part of the class war which the author sees to be inevitable in Britain, the war which will cleave families no less than political parties. It will tear asunder a nation which clings to the self-destructive policy of colonialism.

What lessons can we learn from this story?

1. Mr. Aldridge demolishes the belief so carefully nurtured in liberal Britain that the backward nations are morally weaker than the so-called civilised peoples. Men are equal. To make equality between nations a reality is the aim of enlightened society.

2. The part of the story covering the hero's activities in Arabia illustrates the principle that revolt against foreign domination will only succeed when unity is established between the industrialised workers in the town and the non-urban inhabitants whether they be land-workers, peasants, or nomadic Tribesmen, as in Arabia Deserta.

3. The ineffectiveness and inevitable failure of individual action in attempting to awaken the people of the controlling nation to the danger to themselves inherent in the colonial system. Colonial emancipation will only come by the determination of the masses to end colonial rule.

There is also a lesson to be learnt by the oppressed peoples themselves when they take over the oil-fields, mines, plantations or whatever other sources of wealth within their territory. When the natural resources are taken over, the system of their subsequent administration and development must be planned in advance. Those who carry colonial revolt to its successful conclusion must not merely content themselves with the sale of such sources of wealth as may have been seized in the course of revolutionary struggle to another interested party willing to pay cash for the right to exploit the former colonial country's natural wealth, to monopolise the development of its most valuable resources.

Heroes of the Empty View is the profound study by a sincere writer of the complex social problems in 'a world that's failing'. It must be read with concentrated attention. The more carefully it is pondered the tighter its grip of the reader.

Book Reviews

MARXISTS AND HISTORY

Democracy and the Labour Movement: Essays in honour of Dona Torr. Edited by John Saville. (276 pp. Lawrence & Wishart. 30s.)

I HAVE in my 50 years as a Socialist agitator met many men and women who gave and are giving a life of service to the great cause of working-class emancipation. But none of them excel in devotion and service our grand comrade Dona Torr. A truly brilliant Marxist historian and Marxist teacher, she has brought to the British workers much valuable Marxist material and inspired many of our young comrades to apply themselves with equal devotion to a Marxian study of history.

A group of these Marxian students, or as they themselves profess, disciples of Dona Torr, have written a series of historical essays which John Saville, one of the essayists,* has brought together and edited as *Democracy and the Labour Movement*. A Foreword signed by George Thomson, Maurice Dobb, Christopher Hill and John Saville, ends with this high and well-deserved tribute:

This volume is a humble attempt by some of Dona Torr's pupils to pay homage and return thanks. Its contents have been mainly confined to English history since the industrial revolution—not because Dona Torr's influence has been limited to those working in that period, for she has stimulated ancient and mediæval historians as well as modernists, but because it has been to the history of the British labour movement, above all, that she has dedicated her life of scholarship and boundless generosity.

The first essay by Christopher Hill,

* The essayists are Henry Collins, Christopher Hill, E. J. Hobsbawm, V. G. Kiernan, S. F. Mason, Ronald L. Meek, John Saville, Daphne Simon.

'The Norman Yoke', sets a very high standard which is followed by the other seven. It is not possible to do justice to these remarkable essays in a review. But they will not only repay study, they will most surely stimulate thought and give the reader a new and better understanding of how to estimate current events in the light of Marxist teaching. When we read of how the bourgeoisie used the Anglo-Saxon legend of a free, democratic and virtually classless society to further their own advancement against the Barons, and then grovelling before the sham glitter of aristocratic pretensions, used the same legend to hold up progress, we immediately get a picture of the petty-bourgeois gang who have seized the leadership of the labour movement, used it for their own advancement and now, absorbed into bourgeois society, endeavour by trickery and treachery to use the very movement that was to end capitalism as a main prop of capitalist reaction.

The essay on 'Scottish Contribution to Marxist Sociology' is of particular interest to me and will be, I am sure, to all that read it. From this I would only quote a short passage directed against the 'Reformers' in a pamphlet published in 1793, which will immediately suggest its modern equivalent:

The mildness of the British constitution is strongly exemplified, in the security in which these pests of society vomit forth their opinions. Were the like freedom taken with the executive government in their beloved land of *Liberty and Equality*, the lamp-iron or the scaffold would soon terminate their career. That, I am sure, will have a familiar ring to most readers of the *Labour Monthly*.

And here is one from the essay by Henry Collins on the London Corresponding Society which, like the next,

is a remarkable piece of historical research. The L.C.S., like the Scottish Reformers, supported and drew inspiration from the French Revolution and, also like the Scottish Reformers, suffered from spies, *agent-provocateurs* and savage repression. The leaders of the L.C.S. had been arrested and put on trial. They were acquitted, following which 'a vindication of the L.C.S.' was published. 'It dealt with allegations by Watt, the government agent, who became overfond of manufacturing conspiracies, manufactured one too many and was hanged for his pains'. That should serve as a solemn if somewhat sinister warning to a certain well-known apology for a trade union leader. Do I have to give his name?

Lastly a quotation from 'Master and Servant' by Daphne Simon:

Defendant: I left under peculiar circumstances. The shop has been blacked.

Magistrate: Then it is coming to that, is it? That a lot of working-men, fellows like you, are to dictate to masters who shall work for them. (Reported in *Beehive*, 1864.) I don't know if the magistrate's name was Masefield, but I'm certain, if he were alive today, he would find a welcome from the management of B.E.A. and Standard Motor Co. He sent the defendant to prison for one month for 'deserting his employment'.

Yes, this is a great book, worthy of the splendid comrade in whose honour it has been published. Get it in your library and if you can afford it, get it in your home; but get it.

WILLIAM GALLACHER

AFTERMATH OF THE COMMONWEALTH

A Thousand Lives, by Iris Morley.
(256 pp. Andre Deutsch. 15s.)

THIS study of the revolutionary movement between the Restoration

and the Monmouth rebellion takes its title from the dying words of Abraham Annesley, one of the victims of the Bloody Assize of 1685: 'Had I a thousand lives, they should all have been engaged in the same cause'. It is the first serious British study inspired by Marxist thinking of this neglected period, the aftermath of the Commonwealth. Its thesis is that the New Country Party of Charles II's reign, the ancestor of the Whig Party, stood for much more than official historians have allowed. It was an uneasy combination between prosperous merchants and landowners, the proto-Whigs, and a democratic mass tradition, heir to the ideas of the Levellers. Such ideas were kept alive after 1660 largely by the Dissenting movement, whose persecution by the Government is therefore not surprising. 'A very high proportion of the militant revolutionary figures of this period were nonconformist ministers.' Organised refusal to accept the Restoration settlement was particularly strong in the West Country, where the great wool trade, evolving towards modern capitalism, was engendering special social tensions.

Right and Left wing oppositions were brought together by the political genius of Shaftesbury, whose social position linked him with the Right while his irreconcilable energy pushed him further and further towards the Left: 'a classic case of a man whose actions transformed his thought'. With Shaftesbury dead in exile the two wings drifted apart. Few Whigs wished to risk their property for their principles. Sidney and Russell suffered fine but futile deaths for the vague ideal of an élite republicanism. Not abstract republicanism but limited monarchy on a popular basis, for which Monmouth came to stand, was in Iris Morley's view the really progressive pro-

gramme of the time. When Monmouth landed at Lyme the Whigs kept quiet, and hardly any of the gentry came to join him, but the common people flocked to him by thousands. Doomed to failure by the absence of any supporting movement elsewhere, the rising was not a mere hopeless outbreak of ignorant peasants carried away by a royal charlatan, as it has nearly always been represented. Monmouth was a man who had suffered and learned, his followers were men who knew what they were fighting against, and Sedgemoor was the last battle of the civil wars that had begun at Edgehill 43 years before. Equally, the Bloody Assize was not mere erratic ferocity of a despot King and his Judge; it was a deliberate attempt to terrorise out of existence a popular movement dangerous to upper-class property as well as to the dynasty. Jeffreys was fully approved by the whole upper class, including the Whigs whose own revolution three years later was to be 'Glorious' because it gained its end without needing to call in the common people and put arms in their hands.

Iris Morley died before this book was finally completed, and it lacks a learned apparatus of footnotes. A. L. Morton has supplied it with a useful bibliography, and points out that it is based throughout on a systematic study of the evidence. This is, in fact, clear in every chapter. Still more striking is the historical imagination at work in it. It is the work of an author most of whose books were novels, and it has humanistic qualities lamentably rare in the academic history-writing of today. To the study of society and its solid economic foundations she added an absorbing interest in individuals, in motive and psychology and the often unpredictable interaction of character and circumstance. Men and things

are brought vividly to life, and the scenes of English town and countryside are painted into a rich background. There is an unfailing instinct for the picturesque and revealing detail, a style often extraordinarily sensitive and suggestive, and much human wisdom. Marxist books have been accused of dullness; this one cannot be, and because of the beam of light it throws on a quarter-century of our history it will stand as an inspiring lesson in how scholarship and imagination can again be brought together.

V. G. KIERNAN

JOE HILL

The Man Who Never Died, by Barrie Stavis. (242 pp. Haven Press, New York; Collet's, London. 15s.)

THIS book contains much biographical material, previously unpublished, about Joe Hill—also letters, telegrams, poems and songs, many of them written while he was waiting execution; all of it as a lengthy appendix to a play about him.

Joe Hill was a Swede. Hillstrom was his real name. Like so many immigrants into U.S.A. he eked out a living in New York doing the meanest, dirtiest and hardest jobs. He was soon disillusioned about the American Way of Life. He drifted westward, joined the 'Wobblies'—the Industrial Workers of the World—going from job to job, as did millions of migratory workers. He became the victim of one of the many atrocious criminal frame-ups, characteristic of the violent nature of U.S. monopoly, throughout American labour history. So glaringly obvious was the frame-up and trial, that it led to several interventions by the Swedish Minister Ekingren demanding a re-trial. The President of the U.S.A., Woodrow Wilson, intervened twice. But the

power of the copper barons prevailed and Joe Hill was shot on November 19, 1915.

The author brings to the reader Joe Hill, the agitator and union organiser, on the picket line and as a fighter for free speech. You read his satirical songs, full of his biting sarcasm and hatred for a ruthless ruling class, whose lawlessness is expressed in their employment of unscrupulous labour spies, professional strike-breakers, thugs and gunmen—all of whom were used to frame him. They are all seen in action, prior to and during the trial. You are with Joe too, in the Court when he dismisses the defense counsel for co-operating with the prosecution.

Judge O. N. Hilton, who took over his defense, was later debarred from practice in Utah for his exposure of the State's law offices in this corrupt frame-up.

In his cell, ceaselessly 'scribbling', as he called it, Joe composed songs, poems, music, wrote letters. Even after the death sentence when he felt there was not a hope, and said so many times, he continued to urge the workers to organise and to expose the wrongs committed against his class. His impatient soul would not let him rest from doing what he could to help. Convinced the Copper Trust was out to 'get him' he constantly protested about the waste of money on his case:

I think the organisation should use all its resources to keep 'live wires' on the outside. I mean organisers and orators. When they are locked-up they are dead as far as the organisation is concerned. A fellow like myself, for instance, can do just as well in jail. I can dope-out my music and 'poems' in there and slip them through the bars and the world will never know the difference.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn after a visit to Joe (first to be allowed to see him

in six months) wrote: 'I've seen men more concerned about a six months' sentence than Joe Hill worries about his life. He only said: "*I am not afraid of death, but I'd like to be in the fight a little longer*".' Joe is still in the fight; so millions in the working class on both sides of the Atlantic feel when they hear the rich voice of Paul Robeson singing his famous song (or sing it themselves):

I dreamed I met Joe Hill last night,
Alive as you and me;
Says I, 'But Joe you're ten years
dead!'

'I never died' said he—

'I never died' said he.

One of Joe's last wishes was—'I don't want to be found dead in Utah'. His body was taken to Chicago, where 30,000 people attended the funeral. His ashes were sent to every State, except Utah, and to many countries beyond the seas.

GEORGE HARDY

BRITAIN'S SHAME

Africa Africa! by Derek Kartun.
(100 pp. Lawrence & Wishart.
3s. 6d.)

THIS is a brilliant and moving piece of writing. The central theme is stated in striking terms:

Today the people of Africa are on the march . . . here is the oldest and richest stamping ground of imperialism no longer safe, no longer available for easy pickings. Here are millions of people struggling forward at long last to demand a place in their own African sun.

In that vivid and fast-flowing style of his, Mr. Kartun presents first a rapid survey of the bloodstained history of Britain in Africa, from the early days of the slave trade, then a series of pen-pictures dealing with various aspects of imperialism—the fabulous

profits squeezed from this rich continent, the starvation and oppression of the African from the cradle to the grave, the smashing of trade unions, the rape of the land in Kenya and the indescribable brutalities of the present war which goes by the polite name of 'Emergency'. The author points out, however, that what is more significant than the 'astonishing picture of almost ceaseless bloodshed' is the determined advance of the African peoples 'in the face of the worst that the imperialist powers could do to them'.

The so-called new 'constitution' in the Gold Coast, introduced in order to head off the demand for self-government, the Central African Federation, imposed on the peoples of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland against their wishes; the banishment of Seretse Khama from Bechuanaland because he married a white girl, all come under the author's searching analysis.

This small book, though by no means a comprehensive study, contains a remarkable amount of factual information while at the same time making crystal-clear the main trends of events in Africa today. It concludes with an appeal to the people of Britain to put an end to the foreign domination of the African peoples in order to create, with them, a fraternal association on the basis of absolute equality. RALPH MILLNER

OUTLOOK FOR SCIENCE

Science and our Future, by Roy Innes. Foreword by Prof. J. D. Bernal, F.R.S. (55 pp. Lawrence & Wishart, 2s. 6d.)

THIS important little book shows the main emphasis of scientific research in Britain today is on war and that the whole future of science is threatened by the perversions of the cold war. It also shows how science

could be utilised for the welfare of mankind and is, in fact, so utilised in Socialist countries. Industry spends about £40 millions a year on research and the universities about £8 millions. The Government plans to spend £263 millions in 1954/55, of which £27.1 millions will be spent by the Civil departments. The Military departments and the Atomic Energy Authority will spend between them £235.8 millions. Thus, assuming that all industrial research is for peaceful purposes, more than three times as much will be spent on military as on civil research.

From this follows the growth of secrecy in research, alien to the whole tradition of scientific enquiry. This secrecy begins to threaten even the universities because the Government would like them to undertake some of its top-secret research projects.

There are those, and they include some scientists, who despair of

COLLET'S

The Controversial question

Will Nations Always Exist?

is answered in a new booklet

Bourgeois Nations and Socialist Nations

by V. Kozlov

Price 6d.

Post 2d.

We also recommend

People's Democracy

by A. I. Sobolev

Price 9d.

Post 3d.

Both for 1/6d. Post free

Order from all booksellers and

COLLET'S BOOKSHOPS

44 & 45 Museum St., London, W.C.1

science ever again playing a part in the advance of mankind. In fact, they no longer believe in the possibility of such advance. Every new discovery brings new problems. The more medical science enables people to live the more they see it accentuating the 'problem of over-population' and 'world food shortage' which are, to them, inevitable. Presumably war, with the latest nuclear weapons is nature's own brand new way of redressing the balance. Roy Innes not only exposes such ideas as a threat to science, he also shows what a vast field remains to be tackled, here in our own country, to say nothing of the colonial countries, in order to bring about improvements in the standards of the people. War and preparation for war hinder the real work of science.

T.A.

THE ASCENT OF MAN

Man and the Vertebrates, by A. S. Romer. (Vol. I, 198 pp. Vol. II, 148 pp. Penguin Books. 3s. 6d. each.)

IN this account of the evolutionary history of the animals with backbones, Romer is happiest in his treatment of the sub-human vertebrates. He is cautious, and rightly, in his handling of the scarce and equivocal fossil documents on the origin of man, and makes up for a weak section on human races by a good general account of human anatomy and physiology. It must be stressed that in *describing* the changes undergone by vertebrates in the last 400 million years he is silent on the *methods* by which animal populations are changed.

This is, however, the best popular book, in English, on the story of the path by which fish-like things became men. It is excellent that it should be issued as two Pelicans, though it is a pity that more advantage has not been taken of the new edition to bring the text up-to-date and that the reproduction of the photographic illustrations is not as good as it should be.

D.R.N.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

BOOKS

- J. V. Stalin, *Works*, Vol. VIII. Lawrence & Wishart. 222 pp. 5s.
 Germany's Comeback in the World Market, by L. Erhard. Allen & Unwin. 276 pp. 21s.
 The Imprisonment and Defence of Matyas Rakosi. Foreword by D. N. Pritt, Q.C. Lawrence & Wishart. 206 pp. 9s. 6d.
 Trouble in Porter Street, by John Sommerfield. Gate Books. 60 pp. 1s. 6d.
 From Raj to Swaraj, by Dhirendranath Sen. Vidyodaya Library, Calcutta. 544 pp. 22s.
 Living Water, by Alexei Kozhevnikov. Russia Today Book Club. 606 pp. 3s.
 Science and Civilisation in China, Vol. I, by Joseph Needham, F.R.S. Cambridge University Press. 318 pp. 52s. 6d.
 Selected Poems, by Nikola Vaptsarov. Lawrence & Wishart. 92 pp. 2s. 6d.
 Oblomov: Goncharov. Penguin Books. 356 pp. 3s. 6d.
 Education in the New Poland, by Brian Simon. Lawrence & Wishart. 64 pp. 2s. 6d.
 Science in History, by J. D. Bernal, F.R.S. Watts. 968 pp. 42s.
 A Gun is Unloaded, by Andre Stil. Lawrence & Wishart. 276 pp. 10s. 6d.
 Theory of Knowledge, by Maurice Cornforth. (Dialectical Materialism, Vol. III.) Lawrence & Wishart. 240 pp. 10s. 6d.
-

CONTENTS OF JANUARY, 1955

Murder Will Out, R.P.D.; *How Labour Can Win*, Harry Pollitt; *Making the Poor Keep the Poor*, Katherine Hood; *My Six Hundred Million Friends*, John Horner; *Empire Premiers Meet*, Idris Cox; *Colour-Barred*, A Nigerian in Yorkshire; *Letter to Mendes-France*, Arnold Zweig; *Churchill's Self-Portrait*, Pat Sloan. BOOK REVIEW: *The Passion of Sacco and Vanzetti* (Howard Fast); reviewed by P. Bolsover.

Published by the Proprietors, The Trinity Trust, 134, Ballards Lane, London, N.3, and printed by Wembley News, Wembley, Middlesex, Great Britain. Registered for transmission by Magazine Post to Canada, including Newfoundland.

Northumbrian introducing it to his friend: 'You said you wished the Midget contained complete articles, instead of parts. Well, I've asked the management to send a November copy to you, and I am sure you will realise it is an indispensable journal for someone like yourself, active politically and in the trade union movement.' Some *Scots*, who write to us: 'We're distributing back numbers to delegates at the next Trades Council meeting. And here's a list of keen trade union branches. Send each a Midget, and we'll follow 'em up.' A *Midlander* describes 'calling for orders' after Midgets were sent to active Labour and Co-operative people: 'Sold all six L.M.'s I had; had to part with my own copy to the prospective Labour candidate when we met here.' A *London teacher*: 'Have made yet another reader with the Midget. Here's his sub.'

Readers' support is expressed, too, in the warmth of letters of appreciation. From *Aberdeenshire*: 'L.M. is like our daily bread, absolutely essential.' From *Middlesex*: 'It has been an invaluable guidance through more than 30 years of world-stirring events, almost unceasing war and immeasurable social changes. No word of yours has ever misled me.' Sending copies for binding, a *Kent* reader: 'If ever anything was worth binding, it's the L.M. for 1954.' And finally, it is expressed in the steady flow of donations. What a spirit lies behind the monthly entries at the foot of this page: the *Yorkshireman* who sends his £1 'to help along our XXXVIIth volume'; the *Scot's* donation 'in the fight against the limitless lunacy of German rearmament'. And what can we say of the *Londoner's* gift in memory of relatives murdered in a Nazi death camp?

DECEMBER donations totalled:

£54 15s. 10d.

STAND-IN MONEY came from: J. Tuckett, standing-in for Manchester, 1s.; 'American Observers', standing-in for British Guiana, 'in memory of Toussaint L'Ouverture', 1s.; 'English Observer', standing-in for Guatemala, 'in memory of Thomas Jefferson', 1s.; 'Billie', standing-in for Tonypandy, 'in memory of Lewis Jones', 1s.

STEADY MONEY came from: 'Aberdeen', 1s.; A.M.T. for Fernando and Guilherme, Portugal, 1s.; J.H., 'Ipswich', 5s.; 'Cardiff', 1s.; P.O'H., 'Dublin', 4s.; Socialist Sailor, 1s.; J. Tuckett, 9s.; Tam O'Shanter, Gray Mare and Foal (pre-paid): 'Personal Greetings from U.S.A.', 1s.; H.G.B., 2s.; Olivia Greene, 1s.; Royston Green, 3s. 6d.; E. D. McCallum, 5s.; R.F.B., 1s.; D. M. Clarke, 10s.; The Humphreys Family, 4s.; D. H. Strathern and Friends, 5s.; 'L'Humanité', 3s.; S. Morrissey, 10s.; J. Rees, 2s.; M. Philibert, 1s.; H. Tinkler, 7s.; R. McLeod, 5s.; S. Mill, 10s.; E.J.B., 10s.; P. N. Brinson, 10s.; J. A. Purton, 7s. 6d.

OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS came from: W. Simenauer, 'in memory of my grandmother and aunt, butchered by the Nazis', 11s. 6d.; W. Winsch, 2s.; H. E. Rank, 1s. 6d.; R. C. Champion, 3s.; J. Steele, 12s.; F. Hughes, 2s.; D. Percival, 7s.; G.H., 12s.; F. Humphreys, 2s.; A.R., 1s.; B. Robshaw, 2s.; H. Cohen, 1s.; C. Wrench, 2s.; L. Clark, 12s.; T. Senior, 12s.; A. Albert, 2s.; G. J. R. Hill, 2s.; P. Tregidga, 2s.; H. Pyne, 2s.; L. Green, 2s.; J. J. Christie, 2s.; W. Bryn Thomas, 2s.; J. H. Wood, 5s.; L.M. (Canada), 1s. 2s.; C.S., 1s.; R. M. Lang, 12s.; H. Eldridge, 3s.; W. H. Brown, 2s.; W. Scobell, 1s. 2s.; J. S. D. Bacon, 12s.; A. J. Gar, 2s. 6d.; Wilfred Willett, 2s.; T. D. Culbert, 10s.; A. G. Neville, 1s.; M. B. Lavery, 6s.; D.B. (Nigeria), 1s.; P. W. Ghosh, 2s.; W. Rickard, 7s.; H. Webb, 1s.; G. Callicott, 12s.; E. B. Trevett, 2s.; J. Berry, 2s.; P. Feltham, 2s.; W. S. Hemp, 1s. 2s.; B. Becker, 12s.; H. Rosen, 5s.; M. W. Hopkins, 2s.; D. A. Ware, 2s.; L. M. E. Milne, 1s. 2s.; S. Ayyaktananda, 2s.; S. Lawther, 2s.; C. Russell, 4s. 6d.; R. Wallis, 9s. 6d.; S. R. Broadbridge, 2s.; D. Smith, 5s.; A. Middlemass, 2s.; R. A. Ward, 5s.; A. R. Hodgkinson, 1s. 6d.; A.E.U. District, 2s.; P. Tero, 5s.; F. A. Farrow, 2s.; E. Karley, 1s.; J. Redfern, 2s.; J. Ponsonby, 1s.; R. D. Manning, 11s.; J. D. Munro, 5s.; D. A. Newsom, 2s.; C. R. Burman, 2s.; H. E. Cole, 7s.; A. Pritchard, 1s. 2s.; E. Williams, 2s.; J. Nobbs, 7s.; J. L. Smith, 5s.; L.F.P. (U.S.A.), 10s. 6d.; M.H.H. (U.S.A.), 3s. 7d.; E.S. (U.S.A.), 1s. 2s. 8d.; R.B. (U.S.A.), 10s. 6d.; H.R. (U.S.A.), 7s.; B.E. (U.S.A.), 1s. 4s. 7d.

Our thanks to you all.

Co-op. No. L99482.

ANGELA TUCKETT,

134, Ballards Lane, London, N.3.

Labour Monthly Bound Volume 1954

*It's a history of the year
and a permanent record*

From your usual newsagents, price
£1 5s. 0d., or send 10s. 6d., and
your loose copies

to

THE MANAGER,
134 BALLARDS LANE,
LONDON, N.3.

LABOUR RESEARCH

February issue includes :

"Anatomy of the Tory Party "

"The Profits Boom "

"Old People's Fares "

Monthly 9d. p.a. 10s. 6d.

LABOUR RESEARCH
DEPARTMENT

2, Soho Square, London, W.1.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

The Progressive Newsweekly

Authoritative voice of the
American progressive
movement

Edited by CEDRIC BELFRAGE

Annual Subscription, 34s. 6d.

ORDER FROM COLLET'S
40 GREAT RUSSELL STREET, W.C.1

FOR THE MIDGET

Send a Midget Labour Monthly with the 4-months-for-3 trial sub. to:—

Name.....

Address.....

Mention that I could book the order through my usual agent (*delete if
inapplicable*)

I enclose 3d.
towards cost

Signed.....

Address.....

FOR SPECIMEN COPIES

Please send a free specimen copy of the issue to:—

(1) Name

Address

(2) Name

Address

You may mention my name,
or/I enclose note to be sent on.

Signed

Address

TO THE MANAGER, 134, BALLARDS LANE, LONDON, N.3